

#4 STRONG HEARTS

In this issue;
Irish and Mexican Death Squads
Canadian Seal Slaughter
Factory Farm Pollution
Strategy & Tactics
IRA Prisoner List

Black Hearts

RCSC

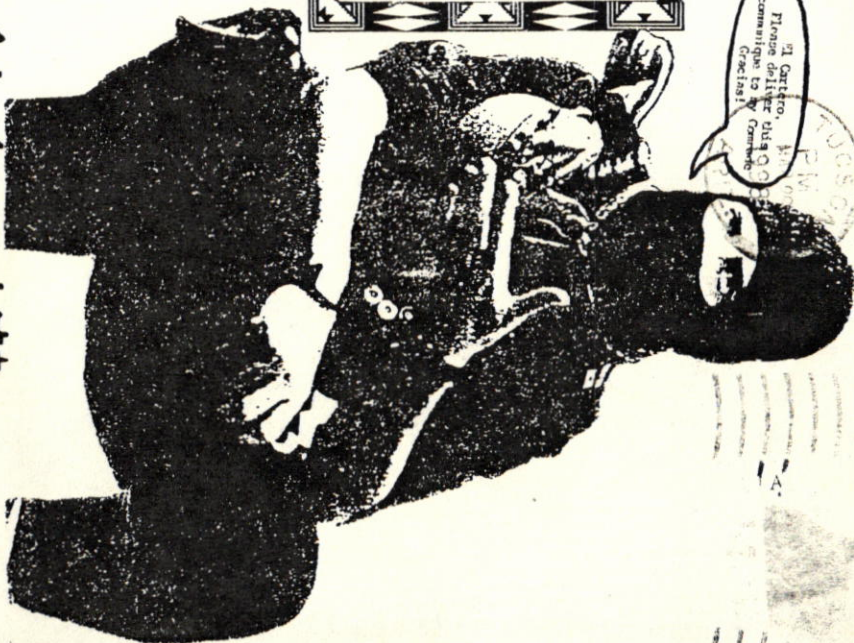
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Tucson, AZ 85716

NO SURRENDER



"There are those with white skin and a dark sorrow. Our struggle walks with these skins. There are those who have dark skins and a white arrogance; against them is our fire. Our armed path is not against a skin color, but against the color of money."

Zapata (E21LN)



"El Cartero,
Please deliver this
message to the
General.
Cruzado!"

Companeras, Companeras y Federales,
Welcome to the latest and very late Strong Hearts #4! It's taken a while,
but I hope you'll agree that the wait was worthwhile. I'm working on my
third year as a captive of the occupational forces of the Imperialist
Empire and my spirits are high.

I suffered a couple of setbacks this last
year, the worst being my second and last denial of security declassification
from a Public Safety Factor prisoner to Out Custody status which would have
allowed me eligibility for furloughs this year. I'm told because of the
nature of my crime, I'm a greater threat to public safety than the drug
dealers and repeat offenders who already have out custody status here.

Once again the government has proven that one is only considered a threat
when you target the earth destroying, animal abusing and Indian killing
establishment rather than any of the above three. But there is no cause
for surprise. Rather than expend our energy trying to convince the Dept.
of Justice that I am not a threat, we must remember that to expect
justice from the United States one must first pledge allegiance to them.

And as you know, the U.S. has alot to answer for before I can do that
with a clear conscience. That brings me to the issue of being an accom-
plice to crimes committed against the earth mother and her human and animal
children.

Few of us who seek the truth can claim complete innocence
from contributing to the suffering of others, and as you read this latest
installment of SH, many may feel a sense of guilt. That is not my intent.

Whether by filling our gas tanks with gasoline from the Alaska tundra or
Nigerian homelands, tapping away on a computer manufactured by a military
arms dealer, sipping a cup of slave labor coffee or eating a factory-farmed
omelette, we all have a degree of blood on our hands. The difference between
you reading this 'zine and those making millions off our society's dependency
on its products is I hope, that you are not aware of what you are contributing to.

No one should tell someone else how to live their life without
first attempting to make them aware of the consequences of their actions.
In the spirit of such a theory, I attempt to inform you my friends, allies
and supporters of particular injustices that I hope will help you reach your
own conclusion.



That's it, I hope this 'zine doesn't depress you in anyway, but helps
guide you to action instead of apathy. I won't be here much longer, so
there will only be a few more 'zines, let me know if I've pissed you off
or made you think.

I'd like to thank a few folks who help
make SH a reality. Thanks Catherine for research, printing and mailing,
thanks PETA for background info and graphics, thanks Dad for the clippings
and graphics, thanks Troods and Drusilla for Ireland stuff, Naomi and
Martin for Chiapas info and most of all, thank you Creator for giving me
the gift of a strong heart that allows me to see beyond the illusions of
the war mongers.

Once again, I owe immense apologies to those I have yet
to write back to, but to each one of you I say thank you for your letters
that are the kindling in the fire that keeps my heart warm. God bless you
all for reminding me that I am not insane. With love in our hearts and
fire in our eyes we face the dark forces which plague our earth and shall
emerge victoriously.

ENDANGERED PLANET: A "call for action" endorsed by
more than 1,600 scientists from 65 nations warned that
overfishing, pollution and coastal development are causing
unprecedented ocean damage. At a news conference in
Washington, group leaders called for federal lawmakers to
establish new coastal marine reserves and strengthen the
Endangered Species Act and Clean Water Act. They also
want President Clinton to hold a White House conference
on "unprecedented" declines in fish populations. Said Rep.
Curt Weldon, R-Pa., a House science committee member:
"It is appalling to me that we spend more money studying
the oceans of Mars than we do on the oceans of the Earth."

TROPICAL FORESTS DESTROYED: More tropical forests
burned around the world in 1997 than at any time in recorded history,
sowing death, respiratory illnesses and pollution and destroying wild-
life habitats, the World Wide Fund for Nature says. Up to 12.4 million
acres of forest and other land burned in Indonesia and Brazil, whose
Amazon region alone had more than 45,000 fires, the report says.
Vast areas of Papua New Guinea, Colombia, Peru, Tanzania, Kenya,
Rwanda and other parts of Africa also burned, and large-scale fires
were reported in Australia, China, Russia and several Mediterranean
countries, the report says. "This was the year the world caught fire,"
says Jean-Paul Jeanrenaud, head of the group's forest program, who
co-authored the report.

Already there has been change on the issues reported in this 'zine. In Ireland, the Continuity IRA has blown up a RUC station on February 28, killing no one by precipitating the temporary exclusion of Sinn Fein from peace talks.

A week previous an unknown group had assassinated a leader of the UVF responsible for recent murders of Catholics and a drug dealer.

In Chiapas and the rest of Mexico's troubled landscape, the federal government has now announced that foreign peace observers will no longer be issued visas that allow them to witness their human rights violations.

Already in late January, a leader of the Peasants' Independent Central organization, Rubicel Ruiz Gamboa was shot in the back outside his home in Chiapas by a suspected paramilitaries it is believed in an attempt to sabotage future peace talks with the EZLN. Gamboa was active in a local struggle that has seen peasants invade coffee plantations and town halls demanding land and greater democracy.

In early February, suspected paramilitaries murdered the leader of a pro-peasant political party, Mauro Generaro Marin in Guerrero state near a military roadblock where the EPR has also been active.

On a brighter note, EZLN computer hackers recently replaced information on government finances on the Mexican Treasury Department's web page with EZLN declarations including messages from Subcomandante Marcos. Protesters also temporarily blocked access to Mexico City's stock market.

I had intended to do a story on the arms industry, but recent events in Ireland, Mexico and Canada have pushed it to the back burner. Now as the U.S. is gearing up for another war (hence the news footage of burning American flags sure to rile up any ignorant American) the story will be forthcoming.

Also, I had intended to include some guest editorial regarding strategy and tactics, but I ran out of space so that should follow soon too. To readers in the Earth First! movement, now is the time to participate in constructive discussion not argumentative backbiting or quiet acceptance of party lines.

To readers in the animal liberation movement, stop letting other people's dissimilarity from our own struggle prevent you from seeing the common enemy behind all of our oppression.

I know it's hard to break free from class division, but until all of us abandon our stereotypes of each other we're gonna remain divided. Oh yeah, if you are curious as to where I get my information that I use for this 'zine, just drop me a line and I can give you a book or publication list. Most of my research comes from news clippings sent to me by family, PETA or other activists, alternative news magazines and papers, activist newsletters, narrative books, first-hand experience, intuition, word of mouth, your mail, the tee vee and stuff I dig out of the garbage. Oh, and of course my network of spies and infiltrators which feed me information from the highest echelons of government.

Needless to say, I am incredibly biased. Ask me the hypothetical question of which I would save from drowning, a corporate executive officer or a poverty-stricken Tzotzil child and you can guess my answer. My decision would not be based on my hatred towards the CEO who probably fell off his yacht, but because the child and others like her who I report on in these pages have not chosen the fate they find themselves in. They are victims.

Usually of folks like our quickly drowning CEO who are well aware of how their riches are made, but simply just don't give a damn or rationalize their crime with religion or other weak excuse while ignoring the Truth. It is for these reasons that I return to the issue of Northern Ireland. Irish Republicans are the epitome of victims who by resisting their attacker are labeled as terrorists.

The media has played an integral role in blacklisting their struggle, and even many activists who may support the Zapatistas or other armed struggles shy away from the Irish question because of their lack of exposure to the Truth. It's easy to offer sympathy to baby seals and it should also be for Irish and Tzotzil children.

The intent of my tactics article is simply to begin discussion which breaks the mold of most environmental and animal defense struggles which are primarily dominated by the white middle-class who frequently overlook the lessons that can be learned by indigenous peoples of color in other parts of the world who have struggled for generations.

We must deprogram our mentality that forces us to pursue ineffective tactics which lack the numbers to truly be effective and return to a strategy of resistance that is inclusive of everyone despite their color or material wealth. Probably the greatest dilemma will be in admitting that, yes indeed, most of us in the U.S. live a privileged existence, and if we were on the receiving end of a U.S. sponsored death squad, we might resort to tactics that we presently avoid in our culture of comfort.

Yet the cause of violence when we purchase or support products manufactured by multinational corporations make us just as guilty as those pulling the triggers of U.S. supplied weapons. We must remember, the lesson of history teaches us that repression meant to crush us often, if we remain united and focused, only serves to make us stronger and more determined in our dignified fight for the freedom of earth, animals and those humans who chose to live in peace.

Canadian Seal War

Every Spring the Harp Seal Nation begins an annual migration that takes its Western population from the High Arctic south into the waters of what is now Canada to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off the Newfoundland Coast.

These seals rarely if ever come ashore, choosing instead to give birth on the massive ice floes that drift off the northeastern coast of the Atlantic seaboard.

They once numbered in the tens of millions living in balanced harmony with the Whale and Finned Fish Nations in an abundance almost beyond the imagination. A French Trader in 1760 reported seeing off the northern tip of Newfoundland, harp seals filling the sea from shore to horizon in their Spring migration south for ten solid days and nights.

Once arrived on the ice floe nurseries, harp seal mothers give birth to a single pup while the males remain in the water. The pup is born with a translucent coat which appears white which will moult in two weeks, living off the fat reserves built up with the mothers rich milk. At 5 to 6 weeks the pup enters the water, learning how to swim and feed her/himself.

At the end of the birthing and breeding season, adult harp seals gather on the ice floes collectively to socialize and sun themselves before beginning the long journey back to their Arctic homesea.

Since time immemorial, Inuit hunters had subsisted on the immense harp seal population, taking only what they needed for survival in their unforgiving environment. This was unfortunately, not to be the limits of human to seal relations.

As early as 1700, French colonists developed a harp seal fishery and begun a war of commercial exploitation that led to a campaign of extermination against the Inuit themselves in order to gain complete control of northern Newfoundland and her rich diversity of wildlife.

years in prison after being federally indicted on charges that he was behind the March 1997 bombing of the Utah Fur-Breeders Cooperative that conducts nutritional experiments on mink and supplies feed to the states 40 mink farms. The raid injured no one and caused over \$1 million in damages. Letters of support can be sent c/o Direct Action Defense Fund.

WILD HORSE UPDATE- The Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front teamed up in December to release a hundred wild horses from a holding facility in eastern Oregon and then proceeded to burn the empty corrals. The FBI and ATF is investigating and a grand jury in Portland is attempting to question Oregon animal rights activists.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has responded to their recently exposed illegal slaughter of wild horses by requiring adopters to swear they will not sell them for slaughter. The measure is purely cosmetic and the BLM admits it will not stop the slaughter, but only reduce it.

The decision settles a lawsuit filed by the Fund for Animals and the Animal Protection Institute, but fails to address the issue of why wild horses and not subsidized cattle grazed on public lands are not being removed. BLM officials have reported overcrowding of wild horses in holding facilities, since the new adoption measures went into effect, proving that many were indeed being slaughtered by alleged adopters. Meanwhile wild horse round ups continue.

GUSTAFSEN LAKE UPDATE- Ts'peten defenders Wolverine (William Jones Ignace) and OJ (James Pitawanakwat) are the last of the British Columbia indigenous sovereignist in prison for their armed defense of unceded lands in western Canada in 1995.

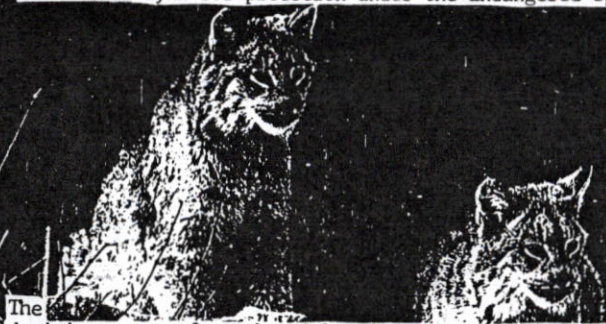


More than 90% of B.C. is uncaded lands illegally stolen from Indian people. Ironically, in November 1997 the Canadian government issued a formal apology to the indigenous peoples of Canada for the wrongs committed against them with a proclamation that the government would in the future work towards righting the wrongs.

We suggest the government immediately release Wolverine and OJ and retry the Quebec Provincial police officer guilty of the murder of Dudley George, the indigenous activist shot when he and others occupied a burial site slated for development in 1996. The police officer was acquitted in a recent trial.

Letters of support to: William Jones Ignace, RRAC Matsqui, P.O. box 4000, Abbotsford, B.C. V2S 5X8, CANADA and James Pitawanakwat, Mission Institution, P.O. Box 60, Mission, B.C., V2V 4L8, CANADA.

LYNX UPDATE- In February the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service finally saw the writing on the wall or in this case in the old-growth forests and recommended the Canada Lynx for protection under the Endangered Species Act (ESA).



The decision comes after the timber industry and other earth rapists suggested the lynx reintroduction programs in Idaho and Colorado that would have kidnapped lynx from the Canadian Yukon for release in forests now threatened with closure to logging.

By supporting the hasty reintroduction, the timber industry would have avoided the legal protection of lynx habitat that goes along with ESA protection by declassifying lynx to "experimental non-essential" status.

Under such status which has recently been challenged for wolves, reintroduced animals can still be killed and their habitat destroyed without the legal repercussion of the enforced ESA.

Far from victory, Lynx allies must now fight for the protection of the lower 48 states' dwindling lynx population (which is estimated to be only a few hundred) by shutting down all timber operations in habitat suitable for natural occurring lynx.

Also, rather than kidnapping lynx from Canada, Lynx prisoners in Fraser Fur Farm in Ronan, Montana should be seized by the U.S.F.W.S. as reintroduction candidates with those prisoners unsuitable for reintroduction moved to large outdoor enclosures where they can serve as a breeding colony to repopulate former habitat.

BISON UPDATE- Protester Delyla Wilson was sentenced to probation in federal court and five days in jail on state charges for splattering bison guts on federal officials.

Thanks to everyone who responded to our postcard appeal on her behalf.

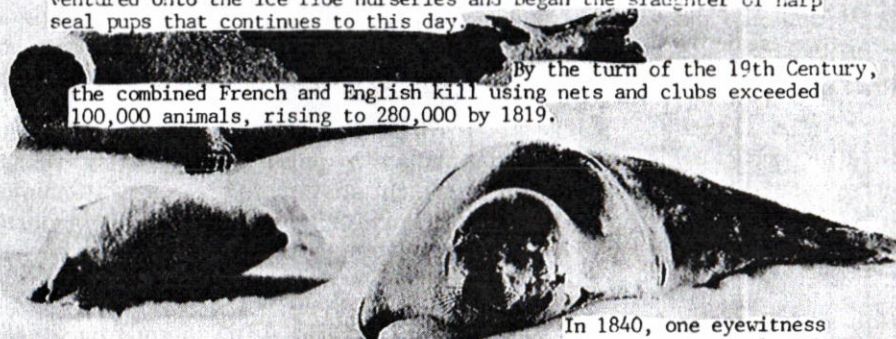
Buffalo Nation, the indigenous group dedicated to protecting the Yellowstone bison have been busy herding wandering bison back to national park lands where they cannot be killed by state gunners from the livestock industry.

Federal officials though have vowed to continue the slaughter that killed over 1,200 bison last winter should the bison pursue their natural migratory routes and leave the park.

MINK UPDATE- In December Clinton Colby Ellerman was sentenced to 2 years in jail for his part in a July Animal Liberation Front (ALF) raid on the Holt Mink Ranch that resulted in the release of 3,000 mink. Utah is no stranger to ALF actions, over 6 mink farms have been struck by the ALF and there are currently 5 young activists doing a year or less in jail for their actions against the livestock industry. Also, Douglas Joshua Ellerman, 19 facing

But the French were only pioneers as they have been in most of the fur trade in the New World, and by the 1730's, the English had moved in and begun their own harp seal fishery marketing like the French, predominantly the seal's oil rendered from the thick layers of fat on young harp seals. By the 1770's sealers had ventured onto the ice floe nurseries and began the slaughter of harp seal pups that continues to this day.

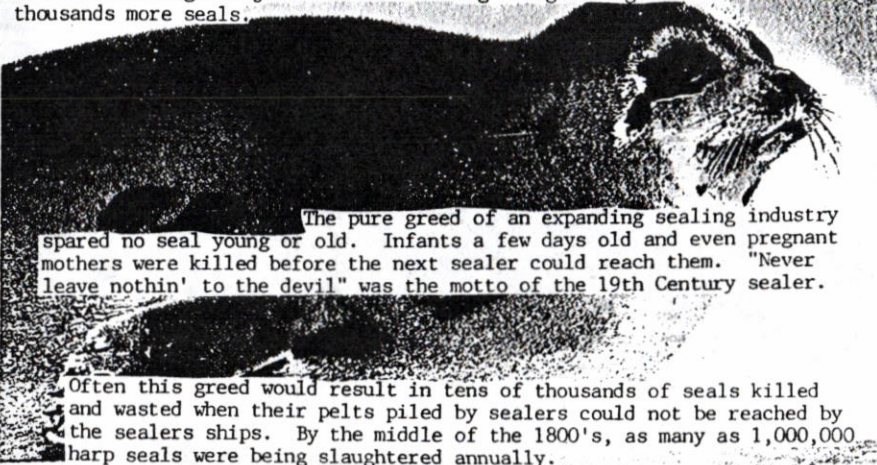
By the turn of the 19th Century, the combined French and English kill using nets and clubs exceeded 100,000 animals, rising to 280,000 by 1819.



In 1840, one eyewitness described the slaughter, "One of the men hooked up a young seal with his gaff. Its cries were precisely like those of a young child in the extremity of agony and distress, something between shrieks and convulsive sobbings...I saw one poor wretch skinned while yet alive, and the body writhing in blood after being stripped of its pelt...the vision of another writhing its snow-white wooly body with its head bathed in blood, through which it was vainly endeavoring to see and breathe, really haunting my dreams."

By now shooting had become the most common way to kill seals (as it remains today) with adults providing the majority of oil. Only the most experienced sealer recovered about 1 of every 5 seals shot, meaning that then and now, the total number of harp seals killed is as much as triple of what is reported.

In the Spring of 1844, approximately 740,000 harp seals were killed and this just from the Newfoundland, Labrador and Gulf of St. Lawrence slaughters, further north along the Greenland coast Germans, Danes, Dutch and Norwegians joined in the killing slaughtering tens of thousands more seals.



The pure greed of an expanding sealing industry spared no seal young or old. Infants a few days old and even pregnant mothers were killed before the next sealer could reach them. "Never leave nothin' to the devil" was the motto of the 19th Century sealer.

Often this greed would result in tens of thousands of seals killed and wasted when their pelts piled by sealers could not be reached by the sealers ships. By the middle of the 1800's, as many as 1,000,000 harp seals were being slaughtered annually.

Early in the 1850's, in an era referred to in Newfoundland history as the "Great Days of Sealing" the European demand for harp seal pup fur exploded with the pelts of new and even unborn pups becoming a major commodity for the sealing industry. At about this same time steam-driven steel-hulled ships came onto the scene allowing sealers to push even deeper into the harp seals last remaining ice floe nursery.

By the 1890's the harp seal nation began to collapse with repeated years of over a million seals killed annually causing sealers to kill "only" about 250,000 until World War I. The war effort that turned its carnage against other humans instead of seals cost the sealing industry most of its fleets of ships and though sealing continued on a largely reduced scale, it was to remain a shadow of what it once was until World War II when there was an almost complete cessation in the War against the Harp Seal Nation. The peace was temporary.

Mother and baby seal desperately flee for their lives

In 1946 the Norwegian Karl Karlsen established the Karlsen Shipping Company in Nova Scotia. Already proven as a butcherer of the Great Whale Nations and of the Harp and Hood Seal tribes further north in the Arctic, Karlsen helped lead the modern war on the seals that will continue this Spring.

By 1950 the Newfoundlanders rejoined the slaughter began again by Karlsen with an additional 14 Norwegian killer ships which drove the harp seal kill up to over 200,000. A year later it would double.

By 1961 the western harp seal population was estimated to be 1,750,000, half of what it had been only ten years early and but a mere fraction of what it was before European exploitation.

In the mid-1960's sealers began to use helicopters and light aircraft to ferry sealers to the nurseries while the Canadian Government offered aerial reconnaissance and Coast Guard icebreakers to cut a swathe through thick ice for smaller sealing vessels.

pelts loaded on
Magdalen Island sealer

In the rapacious bloodbath fueled by the international fur trade, conservation and humane slaughter were (and today are) completely absent. Greed ruled the ice and unspeakable cruelty was the rule as thousands of seal pups were skinned alive or wasted because of get-rich-quick inexperienced skinners.

And its probably similar to what Geronimo thought and prayed on as he sat in a prison cell not far from here in Fort Grant in the 1880's. Geronimo met the challenge with grace.

With a handful of brave warriors he held as many as 5,000 U.S. soldiers at bay, punishing them badly in battle and caused the closure of over 8 military forts in the Arizona and New Mexico Territories as well as the abandonment of mining operations in the U.S. and Mexico.

Within Earth First!, the animal rights, indigenous sovereignty and justice movements, I pray there are warriors like his who are not afraid of a few years in prison for pursuing the righteous wild passion that tells us to fight a guerilla war against the evil powers destroying Earth and all her people both human and non-human.

We are the warrior generation that Earth and all life depends on most. That war need not be violent to be successful, it need only place more faith in our love and respect for the Earth and our elders and ancestors teachings than our fear of a government sponsored vacation like the one I'm enjoying now. Honestly comrades, it's not as bad as you might think.

"I spent fifteen years in prison
for being involved with the Angry
Brigade...La Lotta Continua!"
- Jake Prescott

On every front, in the classroom or around the campfire, let's all work collectively together without criticizing each other's tactics, while encouraging constant discussion of the best strategy and while building networks of support for all people engaged in uncompromising resistance with only one goal in our hearts and minds-to always put the Earth and those who desire to live in peace with her first.

We must also remember that in the larger environmental animal rights, social justice and pro-indigenous movements, Earth First!ers, the ALF and all other direct action warriors are the last line of defense, the last line of resistance when all other tactics fail- the last line before bulldozers rip into the homes of bears and salamanders, lynx and salmon and every other race of life on Earth.

After we fail there is only sorrow that we did not do more and the memory of how beautiful this land once was. We must fight now to defend all of it, as we would for our own family and home.

The animal plant and five-fingered nations have no other army except for people like you and me. Environmentalists in three-piece suits other paid lobbyists aren't going to get their hands dirty or lay their lives and freedom on the line once the struggle leaves the Washington, DC Beltway, there is only us.

Countless communities and families of both humans and non-humans will be destroyed and die if we burn out, surrender to fear or do only what preserves our level of comfort in this society.

For over two and a half years now I've sat in my prison cage, staring past the bars in my window wondering how in hell we're going to counter environmental catastrophes when we ourselves are beginning to be so persecuted. It's probably the same sort of question every revolutionary has asked when their beliefs and actions have landed them in prison.

In 1964 an estimated 85% of all seal pups born were slaughtered off the Labrador Coast and 81,000 were killed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some sealers reported a kill ratio of one in ten for every seal shot. The total kill rose to 500,000 harp and hood seals.

In 1966 the first nongovernmental observers were allowed to witness the slaughter of a small fraction of the 384,000 seals killed and concluded that as many as half of all harp seal pups killed were being skinned alive.

In 1967 the only efforts made to regulate the slaughter were ignored when quotas for pups were exceeded by 100% to 100,000 in the Gulf alone while another 232,000 harp and hooded seals (mostly pups) were killed off the Labrador Coast.

In 1968 author Farley Mowat after witnessing the kill called it a "orgy of destruction conducted by, and for, people who were prepared to commit or to countenance almost any degree of savagery in order to maintain a high rate of profitability."

In 1969 and '70 the kill totaled 300,000 harp and hooded seals. In response to mounting public opposition to the seal slaughter, the Canadian Government established the "Seal Protection Act" which ironically did nothing to protect seals but everything to protect sealers.

Under the new regulations no unauthorized aircraft could fly below 2,000 over the seal nurseries or land within 2 nautical miles of any seal literally meaning anywhere near the slaughter. These regulations in effect prohibited anyone but seal killers access to the ice floes where others such as the media and nongovernmental observers had exposed the slaughter to the international public. By the time the Canadian, Danish and Norwegian Governments established quotas in 1971, the sealers were unable to fill them due to the ever-increasing collapse of harp and hooded seal populations.

When the quotas were reduced even further in 1972, again the sealers were unable to reach it. And again in 1973. In the mid-1970's the western harp seal population was estimated at less than a million and in 1976 the quota was reduced to 127,000.

The sealing industry responded by finally meeting and despite the obvious danger to the very existence of the population, exceeding the quota by 40,000.

Sealer beats back mother seal with her own baby

A journalist illegally flown into the slaughter wrote, "There's this mother seal 10 feet from me, she's rocking back and forth, lifting her mouth to the sky and keening. By her belly is a plum-colored heap of meat, all that remains of her infant. As I watch her the crying ceases.

and she stands helplessly by as he bashes its head on the ice.

She makes no further sound, though she seems to be trying. Its like a battlefield. As far as you can see the ice is splashed with blood. On the horizon, in black silhouette, men are swinging clubs up and down in the white glare. The tiny carcasses of whitecoats, not much bigger than a good-sized roast once the fur and fat are taken, stare at us with bulging eyes protruding from heads smashed by sealers' clubs.

We walk toward a flag and happen on a truly horrible scene; a mother seal whose head has been smashed, whose snout has been driven sideways, and who is still alive, breathing shallowly through her battered face.

What we're watching is comparable to killing kittens with claw hammers, it can't be called a hunt." When the group returned to land, they were arrested and charged with violating the Seal Protection Act.

In 1976 a group of Greenpeace activists led by 26yr old Canadian Paul Watson illegally flew into the hunt and placed their bodies between the seals and the sealers before the helicopters used to transport them were forcibly grounded.

Robert Hunter and Paul Watson stop ship cold on the Labrador Front.

Sealer kicks baby seal before killing it

Watson and comrade Robert Hunter then stood in the path of a sealing ship crashing through the ice forcing it to stop before the two could be arrested and charged with violating the SPA. The following year an amendment was passed making it illegal to also interfere with the killing of any seal.

Monkeywrenching most simply buys time until the rest of the movement does what it does best. There is room for all of us in this all-inclusive larger strategy for the preservation of life on Earth.

EF!ers human and animal rights activists in the present chapter of Earth's history have an incredible responsibility that immediately must be fulfilled. We must look with our hearts to know what is most truly sincere and right. We have the answers to what must be done, they speak to us long before our minds rationalize reasons to do something else. But true answers will cost us true hardship.

like the struggles for indigenous survival that embrace the most harmonic relationship between humans and Earth our planet has ever known, in order for our movement to grow we must strive to live closer to the Earth.

the struggle may differ but the principle is the same for Zapatista rebels

We must learn to live like the Coyote Nation that, despite the genocide against their race, has actually increased his territory and her birth rate. We need to embrace our resistance with the same vigor that every wild animal must face in order to survive attack from the very same enemy. Wild life is a hard life, and we need to realize it as much as romanticize it, recognizing that the struggle requires an ever-increasing degree of personal sacrifice than might have been previously necessary when we posed less of a threat to our opposition. This means practicing the ecologically balanced life we propose for others while also fighting as if our very lives depended on it, because sooner or later they will.

Portraits of those killed on Bloody Sunday in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, are carried through the crowd as more than 20,000

Inspired by MLK's campaigns, Irish Nationalists in the 1960's began their own civil rights campaign. Marches were repeatedly met with police and pro-British violence until the repression culminated in the shooting of 14 peaceful marchers during a civil rights march in 1972.

This one act led many previously passive resisters into accepting the modern IRA's guerilla tactics and spurred the largest resurgence in IRA membership since the Anglo-Irish War.

A retired bishop who tended to the victims of Bloody Sunday recently said, "Many young people I have spoken to in prison (for IRA action) have told me they would have never joined the IRA had it not been for what they witnessed on Bloody Sunday."

This mirrors the same result as when South African police shot dead 69 peaceful protesters in Sharpsville igniting 30 years of armed struggle by the African National Congress.

You might say Earth First!ers, animal liberators and social justice advocates are not indigenous warriors fighting to win the freedom of our homelands like the Irish or native people here, but the struggle to protect Earth's remaining bio-diversity knows no racial boundary.

Very few of us face the threat of returning after an action to be faced with government repression at home for actions and beliefs that for many of us are separate from our private lives. Such is not the case for activists in Mexico, Ireland, China and other countries in resistance.

And maybe it's time we start asking ourselves why we are not willing to risk as much as warriors fighting the same enemy in other lands. I do not now believe we need to use physical violence, but we should fight a guerilla war that places intact ecosystems and those living in harmony with them above machines built for their destruction.

Some of us are better at community outreach and education than others, and these tactics are long-term life insurance for the temporarily protected wild places preserved by legal and illegal actions.

In 1977 the quota was increased to 170,000 despite the fact that experts predicted the western harp seal would be pushed into extinction if the slaughter continued.

That same year Paul Watson and fellow Greenpeace members returned to the slaughter. After taking a club from a sealers hand and throwing it in the water, Watson chained himself to a winch line used to haul seal pelts aboard a sealing ship. He was dragged through the icy waters by the sealers who yelled "Kill him, kill him!"

His action on the ice that year were considered "too violent" by the Board of Directors of the fast-growing Greenpeace organization and Watson, a founding member was asked to leave.

The Spring of 1979 saw something never before seen in the harp seal nurseries. A new ship was on the horizon, this one with the mission of saving seals instead of killing them.

On her bow was the name Sea Shepherd and her Captain was Paul Watson.

Before Sea Shepherd could be stopped over 1,000 harp seal pups had been sprayed with a harmless dye that rendered their fur worthless, at least to the sealers. The crew was eventually arrested and charged with violating the SPA.

Sea Shepherd crew

The Sea Shepherd would later be sunk in Portugal after Watson had rammed the world's most notorious pirate whaling ship which was later blown up in harbor without injuries.

By 1980 the Canadian Government swung its propaganda machine into full gear, over-inflating harp seal estimates and warning that unless more seals were killed, the Atlantic fisheries would be threatened by the fish-eating seals.

No finger of blame for depleted fish numbers was pointed towards the factory trawlers of the commercial fishing industry who for decades had been raping the North Atlantic seas of all her aquatic life.

Crewmember sprays seal pup

In 1981 250,000 harp and hooded seals were slaughtered in Canada.

To preserve its barbaric trade in seal fur, the Canadian Government was forced to lobby against a proposed European Economic Community (EEC) ban on seal pup pelts and threatened to continue the hunt alone should the commercial market be destroyed.

Fisheries helicopter tries to push Captain Paul Watson off ice floe

Farley Mowat writes of the denial, "This new massacre of seals is based, as all previous ones have been, on a campaign of falsification, vilification, and outright lies worthy of Joseph Goebbels (Hitler's Minister of Propaganda)"

In 1985 I joined the crew of Sea Shepherd in Halifax, Nova Scotia the home port of the Karlsten Shipping Co. and where the Sea Shepherd had sat for two years following its confiscation in 1983.

As we sailed off the coast off Newfoundland I read tales of multitudes of whales and seals so great that they posed a hazard to navigation by the newly arriving Europeans. I would then scan the very same horizon and maybe see one distant gull and if fortunate a rare whale or dolphin. Needless to say I was greatly saddened at the emptiness brought on by man's continuing war against nature.

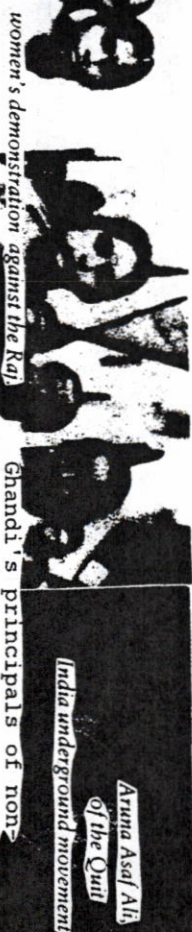
The Canadian seal slaughter is more than the world's largest slaughter of marine mammals, it represents man's about face march he has taken in his interaction with non-human animals. Since the days of harmony, greed has weakened the hearts of men making them either apathetic or numb to the harm their actions have on the natural world.

The representation of callousness brought upon man by slaughtering so many unmistakably innocent creatures in their extremist state of vulnerability, infancy cannot be ignored from being symptomatic of a much greater problem threatening our world today.

Apologists for the earth destroyers and animal abusers are quick to point to naturally-caused cases of extinction, but no one can deny that never before in the history of earth has their been such an accelerated rate of extinction as that caused by modern man.

The Canadian Seal Wars are just one regionalized armed conflict that happens to be particularly brutal in visibility to any who question its impact on the nations of other beings we share our planet with.

Indigenous peoples with generations invested into observation into the natural worlds and our place within it could have told us what scientists and biologists are now confirming. That is simply that our impact on one species be it the cod decimated by industrialized overfishing or harp and hooded seals slaughtered for fur, oil or as scapegoats, will surely lead to imbalance threatening the entire delicate ecological integrity of the world's oceans with collapse.



Aruna Asaf Ali
of the Quit
India underground movement

women's demonstration against the Raj

Ghandi's principals of non-violence were largely effective because he and many of his followers had a British education and upbringing which allowed them to realize that the British Raj would respect non-violent adversaries and relate to them in a mostly cordial relationship, secondly the Indian independence movement was a diverse struggle. Beyond Ghandi's adherence to a purely non-violent campaign were revolutionaries such as the heroine, Aruna Asaf Ali who led a violent underground resistance to the British in the 1940's long after Ghandi had ceased his campaign of passive resistance. Indian Freedom Fighters also knew that if it was the less moral Soviets or Nazis who occupied India, they would have executed Ghandi long before he became effective.

Nehru and Subhas Bose
were both educated nationalists, but held
different views on how to fight the British

confronting nationalist
demonstrators in 1932

Yet while Ghandi and his mostly Hindu fellow British educated resisters enjoy limited respect from their opponents, Bengalese revolutionaries and lower class mostly Muslims rebels without educations or privileges who also fought for India's independence were frequently beaten by police, tortured and murdered in prison contributing to their belief in a more aggressive strategy than Ghandi's.

Many of those elements of India's independence movement not adhering to Ghandi's principles were in fact inspired by the young Irish Republican Army. Bengali revolutionaries even launched an armed uprising against the British in India in 1930 on the anniversary of an Irish revolt in 1916 and carried on their guerilla campaign for almost four years.



The IRA who, in opposing the very same British colonialism, had in 1921 driven them from the majority of Ireland at the conclusion of the Anglo-Irish War (1919-1921). Employing guerilla warfare tactics, "flying columns" of less than a thirty IRA warriors with little training and few armaments were able to successfully ambush much larger and stronger forces of British troops. The IRA's use of guerilla strategy, striking where and when their opponents least expected it is the same strategy used in the remaining six countries occupied by Britain in the North today and that has continued to be unstoppable despite massive repression.

Irish Volunteers.

We forget the muscle given to the U.S. civil rights movement by Black Nationalists like Malcom X who threatened the U.S. Government with an empowered African-American populous who would not stop at only wanting civil rights, but also human rights. Something long denied even today. That led the U.S. Government to fear that African-Americans might not be as willing to die for their country in the Vietnam war.

Malcom X's belief was that purely nonviolent strategy could only be effective against an equally nonviolent opponent, but for those whose very life was threatened, self-defense was justified action. It was the fear of such a philosophy melding with MLK's which was like our own, running up against increased violence, that probably led to the assassination of both men. Also, the famous March on Washington that MLK led was originally planned by African-American Nationalists to be a "Shutdown Washington" action where highways and airport runways were to be blocked before it was compromised by civil rights leaders afraid to alienate segments of the public.

Possibly the fear of such tactics by Black Nationalists threatened the U.S. Government more than the tactics of MLK and led to civil rights legislation as power that the government could control rather than wait for the greater gains demanded and fought for by Malcom X.

Comparisons can be made in our own movement when passive resisters take control of independent actions turning them into actions with little effect.

Martin Luther King's strategy of nonviolent resistance was largely drawn from Ghandi's principles on nonviolence that were used against British colonialism in India. In the struggle for India's freedom Ghandi's tactics were a major force, but not the complete strategy used to achieve victory. MLK acknowledged this when he said, "The principle of self defense even involving weapons and bloodshed has never been condemned, even by Ghandi, who sanctioned it for those unable to master pure nonviolence."

Already federal subsidies helped build new sealing boats and the Canadian Coast Guard and Fisheries Service were assisting sealers with ice and weather forecasts, aerial reconnaissance to locate the seal nurseries and millions spent to monitor, regulate and promote the slaughter.

While accusations were made that harp seals threatened the fisheries, the Canadian Government ignored the fact that harp seals feed on non-commercial fish who actually prey on commercial fish and nursing seals fast while in Canadian waters. This life in balance between seals and fish explains why previous to commercial exploitation tens of millions of seals coexisted with what were some of the world's most abundant fish populations. Early colonists recorded that cod fish were in such abundance that all one had to do to catch them was toss a bucket with a line into the water and pull out the fish.

In 1982 despite Canada's threat to restrict EEC member nations fishing rights in its waters, a EEC ban on the importation of harp and hooded seal pup pelts was passed, but the ban would not go into effect until after the 1983 seal kill and would only last 2 years. Later loopholes would be created to render the ban completely useless.

The 1983 quota was set at 180,000 harp and 12,000 hooded seals. Newfoundland's Minister of Fisheries instructed sealers to kill 100,000 seals or the cod fishery would be destroyed and stated his department would pay a million to help subsidize the purchase of pelts bought by the Karlson Shipping Co. and the pelt-buyer Carino Ltd. 1983 was building up to be as bloody as ever except for the arrival of the sealers now familiar rival as Farley Mowat explains in his book "Sea of Slaughter";

On March 22, the sealing vessels *Chester* and *Technoventure* entered the Gulf's whelping ice and began killing pups. *Chester* belonged to the Karlson Shipping Company, while *Technoventure* was killing for the Carino Company. The sealers had been "into the fat" for only two days when a third ship appeared on the scene. She was an antiquated ex-trawler called *Sea Shepherd II*, crewed by sixteen men and five women of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, a radical organization led by Paul Watson, who had already acquired a considerable reputation for taking direct action against pirate whalers. During the early hours of Friday, March 24, *Sea Shepherd* crunched through the floes toward *Chester*, whose sealers had already left their ship and were working the ice, leaving patches of ruby-red slush glowing in the light of the rising sun as they clubbed and sculped successive patches of pups.

Sea Shepherd's arrival was not unexpected. Some days earlier, Watson had warned that his organization was prepared to intervene directly in the hunt if he found sealers engaged in slaughtering pups. Shadowed by Canadian government ships and aircraft, *Sea Shepherd* had first blockaded St. John's harbour, then, when no sealing vessels emerged, had set course for the Gulf. During the night of March 23, *Chester* and *Technoventure* were warned of Watson's approach.

Ichneumonius developed engine trouble that did not, however, prevent her from hurriedly steaming off for Halifax. *Chester* held her ground. Watched with considerable apprehension by *Chester's* scalers, many of whom were Newfoundlanders, Watson's old fishing boat bore steadily down upon them with siren blaring. When barely a ship's length separated the two vessels, Watson put his helm over and, stepping out on the wing of his rusty bridge, shouted an ultimatum. Either *Chester* would cease scaling immediately, or take the consequences of having the trawler ramming through the ice where pup killing was taking place.

Chester's tough Norwegian Master decided not to call Watson's bluff. He sounded his own siren, bringing his scalers scrambling back on board. As radio messages crackled through the spring air, several small fishing vessels carrying seal hunters from the Magdalenis discreetly returned to port. The morning sun blazed down on what had become a peaceful tableau. The two ships lay at rest within the pack. Around them the bleating of seal pups calling to their mothers was almost the only sound. Then the day was shattered by the hellish clatter of helicopter rotors.

During the next twenty-four hours, Fisheries and RCMP helicopters and Canadian Forces tracker aircraft roared and chartered over *Sea Shepherd*. Heavying hugs on the horizon, the massive Canadian Coast Guard icebreaker *John A. Macdonald* came crashing through the pack to take up station a stone's throw from Watson's vessel. Radio, verbal, and visual signals ordering Watson to take his ship into the Magdalen port of Cap Aux Meules were ignored. So long as *Chester* remained in the patch, *Sea Shepherd* would remain as well. An RCMP helicopter attempted to land a posse on Watson's ship but sheered off when it was seen that her decks were barraged with barbed wire.

On Sunday, March 26, this "rabid interference with the rights of ordinary Canadians to earn a living" came to an abrupt end. While the towering bulk of the 350-foot *Macdonald* lay across *Sea Shepherd's* bows to prevent her from attempting escape, a second icebreaker, *Sir William Alexander*, carrying an RCMP Emergency Response Team, moved in. What followed is described by one of *Sea Shepherd's* volunteers:

POLICE

The *Sir William Alexander* rammed *Sea Shepherd* in the stern and slid along the starboard side. A weight hanging from a boom swung down and cleared off the barbed wire fence. Smoke canisters were lobbed onto the deck, water hoses were trained on the bridge windows and engine exhaust stack. A gangplank was lowered and the SWAT squad, armed with handguns, commando knives and crowbars, ran across. The bow of the *Sir John A. Macdonald* towering over us was lined with Mounties holding automatic rifles. A couple of helicopters hovered over the scene. The SWAT squad was fast. In 5 minutes we were all handcuffed and lined up on deck.

Passive resistance used by the democracy movement of China failed in Tiananmen Square when thousands of peaceful protesters were pitted against a morally vacant government who thought nothing of using their "People's Army" to murder and imprison hundreds who stood in the way of military tanks. In late 20th Century China you would have had to peel Ghandi from a tank tread.

Wang Dan, 28, leader of 1989 democracy movement, sentenced in July '96 to three years "re-education" for his labor activism and support of a pro-democracy petition.

Lin Mianchun, 48, former factory worker and novelist, sentenced in July '96 to three years "re-education" for his labor activism and support of a pro-democracy petition.

Zhou Guoqiang, 41, labor activist, sentenced in '96 to three years "re-education". Sentence extended in June '97 for "refusing to reform himself" in Tiananmen Square.


U Hui, 22, leader of 1989 movement, sentenced in Dec. '96 to nine years in prison for documenting the tales of protesters punished for involvement in Tiananmen Square.

In our atmosphere of an ever-increasingly immoral opponent, it is not enough to say we support tactics that break free from state control, we must also emulate those movements (even Ghandi's Freedom Movement) who proudly defend and provide for their militant elements while pursuing their own chosen path of action.

An interesting footnote to the Tiananmen Square massacre is the story of women who following the killings offered watermelon slices to the very same soldiers in the Square who died from poison hidden in the melon. Recently, a friend told me about his trip to Northern Ireland with a tour group of Irish-Americans. They drove through some of the most heavily policed and military controlled regions where many peaceful supporters of Irish independence are routinely beaten and harassed by British forces and murdered by pro-British death squads. Yet men, women, and children in nationalist neighborhoods flashed three fingers at the bus load of tourists. When asked what this means, the guide replied, "That means IRA Third Battalion, the division which defends this area." The covert hand signal was a silent yet risky expression of a movement's support for their direct action contingent.

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DEBBY

We tend to draw from history only what will reinforce what we already think. In the case of the radical environmental and animal rights movements we believe in the tactics and strategy of Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. while overlooking less passive elements of their struggles.



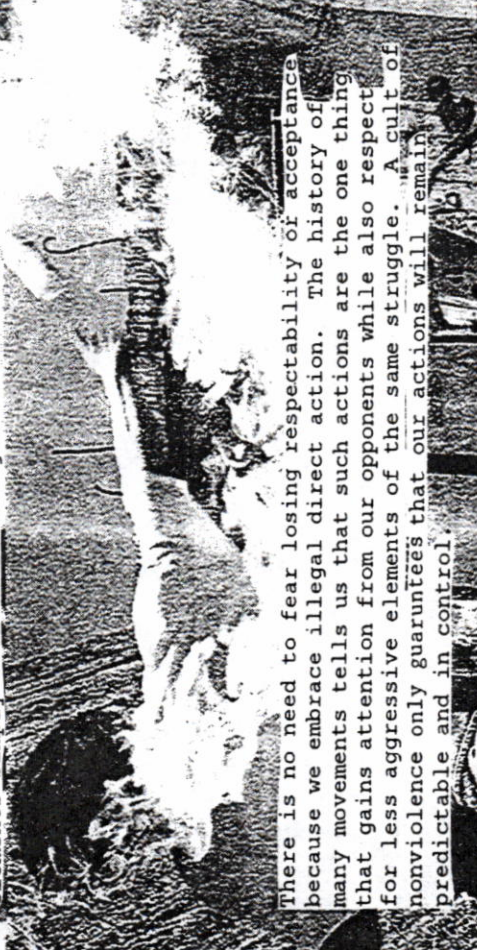
When we limit our movement to tactics such as CD that the police, courts and government are always able to control, we preserve privileges. Especially those of us who are white male and middle class. Such tactics do not threaten the power structure for more than the time it takes to physically remove us.

More dangerously, when we allow passive resistance to separate us from those whose goals are the same, but whose tactics are more aggressive, we isolate our direct action allies making it easier for the state to capture and persecute them as "criminals and terrorists" rather than as legitimate members of the same struggle who we adamantly love and support.

It's an old strategy of divide and conquer. The state targets dissident citizens who support and share a common ground with less passive elements, they are threatened with repression and harassment until they condemn direct action tactics as much as the state does. Leaving their direct action allies in the same struggle alone to face government persecution.

Such tactics separate us as privileged and educated members of a dominant culture from others in the U.S. and other countries who by choice or as victims of oppression and repression resist in a more aggressive fashion.

Because someone chooses to burn a bulldozer, forest service office, or corporate headquarters rather than chain themselves to it should not mean we distance ourselves from their action. Such behavior forsakes our direct action elements simply because we disagree with their tactics.



There is no need to fear losing respectability or acceptance because we embrace illegal direct action. The history of many movements tells us that such actions are the one thing that gains attention from our opponents while also respecting for less aggressive elements of the same struggle. A cult of nonviolence only guarantees that our actions will remain predictable and in control.



After being transported to Sydney, Nova Scotia, in the unheated hold of the icebreaker, the prisoners were then flown by military aircraft to Gaspé, where they were jailed and charged with violating the Seal Protection Regulations. On December 21, 1983, Quebec Provincial Judge Yvon Marcier convicted Watson and his crew of, amongst other heinous crimes, unlawfully coming within half a nautical mile of the site of a seal hunt. Watson was fined \$5,000 and sentenced to fifteen months in jail. His chief engineer was fined \$4,000 and three months. The other crew members were fined \$3,900 each. *Sea Shepherd II*, valued at \$250,000, was confiscated.

Sea Shepherd's 1983 campaign came at the time when other protest pressure was threatening a boycott of Canadian fish in the UK. The combination of opposition from all angles plus the EEC ban on seal pup pelts resulted in less than half of the 1983 seal quota being filled.

In 1984 continuing pressure from all sides resulted in only 23,000 seals being killed out of a quota of 200,000. By 1987 the killing of harp and hooded seal newborns finally stopped, but 60,000 seals a year, many as young as 4-6 weeks old yet labeled as adults, continued to be killed.

Unfortunately for the Harp Seal Nation, no sooner did the European market for seal pup fur collapse than a new market in the late 1980's was being explored in the Far East.

In 1994, Terra Nova Fisheries Co. of St. Johns, Newfoundland sold 50,000 seals to a Shanghai company allegedly for their pelts and meat, but in reality for the penises which are dried and sold in Asian herb shops worldwide for as much as \$200. Joining the largely illegal trade in other wildlife parts, seal penises are marketed as aphrodisiacs.

In 1995 Paul Watson without a ship returned to the seal hunt, but was beaten in the Magdalen Islands by an angry mob of sealers while the Canadian police and Fisheries officers stood by and did nothing. That year 66,000 harp and hooded seals were killed from a 186,000 quota.

"... We kill things ..
that's what we do ..
God I love this province .."

-Gary Troake,
Newfoundland
Sealer

Sealer standing
on baby seal's neck.

Sea Shepherd has repeatedly tried to promote an ecologically-friendly practice whereby baby seals are brushed of their moulting fur painlessly which is then sold as insulation material in European-made garments. But Canadian sealers such as those in the Magdalen Islands have expressed their intent to kill seals rather than brush them.

There is also a growing tourism industry that produces a sizable income to sealers who would guide foreign tourists onto the ice floes to see live harp seal pups, but this economic alternative also is resisted by the Canadian Government which appears intent on wiping out Canada's eastern Atlantic seal populations.

In 1996, encouraged by the new Asian market, the Dept. of Fisheries & Oceans increased the seal quota to 250,000 and allowed for the first time in 20 years the use of aircraft in the slaughter and the return of Norwegian killer ships. This resulted in the first large scale slaughter since the EEC ban of 1983 and cost 243,000 harp and 27,000 hooded seals their lives.

Animal welfare investigators filmed over 144 violations of Canada's Marine Mammal Regulations such as gaffs used to hook live seals, seals flopping on the ice spouting blood from bullet wounds, skinning alive seals and killing them only for their genitalia.

The market for seals in 1996 began to expand again with pelts fetching \$20 the meat being used for novelty sausage and pepperoni with a large quantity being sold to Canadian fur farms.

And regardless of the ban on killing seal pups, Mark Small, the President of the Canadian Sealers Association was revealed to be the supplier in an operation that killed 25,000 newborn seal pups as part of an illegal Newfoundland trade which dealt with Norwegian fur-buyers.

SEALER
HAWLEY
SEAL PUP

In 1997 CSA officials claimed that Norway's Carino Co. alone requested 200,000 seal pelts from the 250,000 quota from the previous year.

As well as raising quotas and subsidizing the sale of seal meat, the Canadian Government also replaced the SPA which was ruled unconstitutional following Sea Shepherd's court battle, replacing it with identical "fishing" regulations continuing to make it a crime punishable with up to 2 years in prison to witness the killing of a seal. Also at a November 1997 fisheries exposition, a Norwegian company sold its entire stock of seal pelts to a Singapore businessman who has guaranteed a market for seal pelts from the 1998 slaughter.

Newfoundland Fisheries Minister John Efford also has been promoting seal products in China, Thailand, Japan and Korea and recently told journalist, "If we do our marketing right and get into those countries, in five, ten years down the road sealing could be worth at least \$100 million a year. The Chinese people are looking for new products; new meat, new species of animals such as seals and other marine mammals. And we have it here, so we have to get it into their country."

By attempting to enforce the dogma which labels any slightly aggressive act outside of the bounds of passive nonviolence as violent and counter-productive, we relegated our movement to the confines of First World, privileged society, while failing to recognize that an effective strategy requires the acceptance of individual action independent of above-ground tactics as part of the path to victory.

Our choice of tactics should not be decided based on any other information than the extremity of violent action we oppose and the opposition's ability to respect nonviolent passive strategy. When opposing the destruction of our ecological life support system, we need not fear becoming more violent than our opponents when using aggressive tactics to prevent violence. Any sense of fair game the state falsely leads us to believe exists is reneged each time they beat or abuse nonviolent protesters or overturn and circumvent a previously won legal victory such as the enactment of the Endangered Species Act or Clean Air and Water Acts.

A facade of respectability is used to encourage our adherence to tactics which are ultimately controlled. We contribute to this control when we follow a political ideology that maintains hope for acceptance and privileged comfort from the very society we oppose, rather than break free completely and build a whole new society.

Most of our concern as a movement to be perceived nonviolent is with the hope that we will not alienate the public who might not support aggressive defense of the Earth. Yet we do not define our struggle to the outside world, but it is the media who have vested interest in portraying our movement as isolated from mass support who define us. When determining whether passive resistance is the best strategy, the only factor that should influence our decision is the opposition's ability to suppress our actions with the rules they establish but that we should not feel obliged to follow.

STATE POLICE in riot gear arrest protesters at the Onondaga Nation.

Filing appeals, writing letters, signing petitions, supporting ballot measures, protesting with civil disobedience, monkeywrenching - and maybe even a political strategy that embraces them all - can drive the message behind such tactics into the forefront of public discussion and the political process in one united, uncompromising voice that attacks the roots of environmental destruction, once we better understand our opposition and fight them full force.



Native Americans stand a protest

In November, the recently released human rights activist Wei Jengsheng said in New York, "Those who enjoy democracy, liberty and human rights should not allow their own personal happiness to numb them into forgetting the many others who are still struggling against tyranny, slavery and poverty. Wei was addressing his American counterparts who 'enjoy' the privileges that prevent us from spending nearly 18 years in prison like he did for simply writing about freedom. His statement does not only apply to human rights, but can also be applied to EF!"



Korean Federation of Trade Unions demonstrate against International Monetary Fund

Many of us lead the life that allows us the privileges to chose a purely nonviolent philosophy without realizing that such is a luxury that many activists in the world do not share.

So when did it change for us? When did we begin to determine tactics based not just on their impact, but on their ability to obtain media coverage? When did we begin to believe it was necessary to distance ourselves from illegal direct action?

Why do we not welcome every strike against multinational corporations who with sanctions and subsidies from the U.S. government, are destroying the planet we all fight for, just because we disagree with how some attack them? And, when did we as human animals begin to believe that we no longer had to risk our own lives for what we believe in?

Civil disobedience will always be an important weapon in our armory, but it is only one. What is vital to every movements' success is the use of a diversity of tactics, and in our movement, such a strategy is necessary to adequately respond to the extremity of assault on Mother Earth and to increase our pressure on our opposition with tactics that are sometimes unpredictable.

In Canada itself seal product distributor J.W. Hiscock & Sons & Briggets says it will target Asian communities in Toronto and Vancouver. The 1998 Canadian harp and hooded seal slaughter quota has been set at 275,000 the same as 1997 which it is believed was exceeded by over 80% taking into account seals killed but not recovered.

Caboto Seafoods Ltd. is responding to the revitalized seal wars by remodelling a fish processing plant in Newfoundland into a sealing plant to extract oil from carcasses and tan pelts for sale to buyers like Norway's Carino Ltd. The seal slaughter this year will receive \$500,000 in direct federal subsidies with indirect subsidies for seal meat, grants to the Canadian Sealers Association and seal processors such as Caboto, and other elements of the sealing industry bringing all federal funding well over \$3.5 million or between \$28,000-34,000 for less than 200 full-time jobs created by killing seals.

Into the arms of the enemy: seal pup captured by sealers

The Canadian seal slaughter it is argued by the Canadian Government is a necessary measure to conserve fish populations that have failed to rebound despite a commercial moratorium enacted in the early 1990's. Meanwhile a petition by 97 biologists from 15 countries who comprise the Society for Marine Mammalogist condemned Canada's seal kill stating, "All scientific efforts to find an effect of seal predations on Canadian groundfish stocks have failed to show any impact. Overfishing remains the only scientifically demonstrated problem"

The Canadian commercial fishing industry appears to be in serious denial of their own impact on the marine environment continually believing that if they kill enough seals the fish populations will return and their economic greed can be satiated.

The wholesale rape of the marine eco-system off Canada's coast may be irreparable as is suggested by a marine biologist who has studied the impact of commercial dragnetters who tear up the ocean floor displacing hydroids, a tiny cousin of jellyfish.

The hydroids have been found in dense concentrations at middle depths normally occupied by commercially valuable cod and haddock where they eat not only capapods, the main food source of cod and haddock, but also the commercial fishes own larvae contributing additionally to the fishes decline due to direct overfishing.

Destroying the Firmed Nations does not seem to be enough for the Canadian fishing industry, they must also destroy the Seal Nations as a scapegoat rather than accept responsibility for their own actions over the last couple of hundred years.

Death Squads in Mexico

For the indigenous peoples of Mexico 1997 will be remembered as the year paramilitary death squads loyal to Mexico's ruling political party rose to power in the escalating low intensity war that has plagued southern Mexico since 1994.

Over 600 people have been murdered, 70 since September, hundreds of homes have been burned and between 6,000-7,000 indigenous peoples in Chiapas alone have been driven from their homes and intimidated by paramilitary death squads trained and armed by Mexico's military, police, local governments and ruling classes.

Civic leaders, human rights organizations, newspapers and opposition politicians have begged President Zedillo to address the violence to no avail. Zedillo and his top officials recently refused to meet with Amnesty International's Secretary General who has reported widespread human rights violations in Mexico in 1997 and in Chiapas human rights observers are being thrown out of the country.

Human Rights Watch has documented over 200 murders attributed to paramilitary death squads in Chiapas including the attempted assassination of an opposition candidate and Bishop Samuel Ruiz in November 1997 by members of Peace and Justice. A week later his sister was attacked with a hammer in the Bishop's cathedral.

Ruiz's Catholic Church has been instrumental in pursuing a peaceful resolution to the injustices committed against Mexico's indigenous peoples and has long been accused of aiding armed rebels of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN).

Armed uprisings against institutional corruption in Mexico's military, police and government are not unique to Chiapas state, but have occurred in recent years in 11 states including Tabasco, Oaxaca and Guerrero where the Governor and other state officials were implicated in the murder of 15 peasants in 1995.

Guerrilla activity is greatest where the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has repressed nonviolent attempts for democracy and peaceful change by Mexico's peasant population who comprise 80% of the nation, but less than 10% of the political representation.

Refugees arrive in the Mexican village of Polho

And the recent federal conviction of Delyia Wilson of the Bison Action Group for an action that was obviously a peaceful demonstration rather than an attack on a federal official as prosecutors successfully argued to a jury that included two cattle ranchers indicates that federal criminal statutes are now superseding our previously constitutionally protected right to protest.

All of these assaults on the environmental movement must be seen for what they really are and that is the state-sponsored repression with corporate collusion of those who would sound the alarm and prevent the destruction for profit of our one home, earth.

With movements such as our own successfully criminalized and vilified in the media, the corporate monsters that are devouring us all can continue their ravenous destruction. Where their progress is thwarted by environmental laws, they simply circumvent them. In the U.S. the Endangered Species Act (ESA) is disarmed with Habitat Conservation Plans (HCP's), indigenous sacred sites are not recognized and the Clean Air Act is sidestepped with pollution credits bought and sold with arguments that jobs shall determine when laws can be enforced.

There exists a governmental double standard regarding law enforcement. Environmental destruction for example is just as deadly as illegal drugs in our society which also provides many jobs, yet why does it not benefit from the same protection from legal persecution? Is it the separate class of people that make up corporate executive officers (CEO's) whose interests the government is intent on protecting while it responds with the highest ever level and length of imprisonment for the lower class?

As Earth First!, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and other direct action movements approach the 21st century of humankind's calendar and the era of Earth's life cycle that beyond doubt is proving to be her most crucial we are called on like no generation before to halt environmental destruction. The sign of the times reveal a corporate-sponsored governmental campaign that favors "free trade" and globalized business practices and spells continued ecological degradation and the subsequent social ills like unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, domestic violence and crime that follow it.

Not to mention overpopulation by the masses, who want what we in the "First World" have, creating the neverending consumers capitalism needs to survive.

Now it is time to strategize. Time to take a step back and study our enemies so that every ounce of energy we invest against them is with maximum effect.

Strategy and Tactics

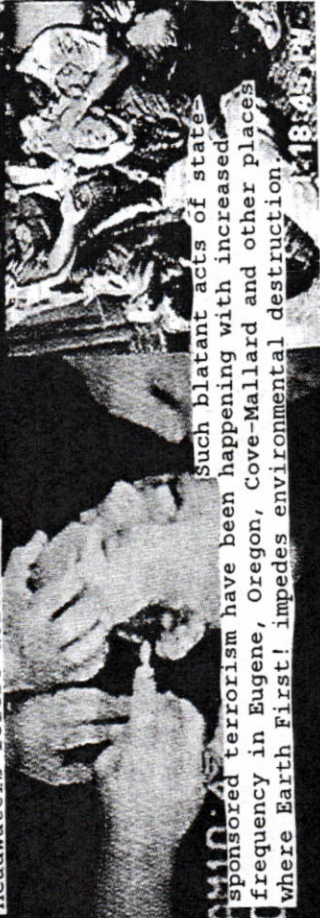
In this age, when the media manipulates the truth and political power is exercised more by highly paid special interests lobbyists than the public constituents who put politicians in power, environmentalists and social justice advocates with a pro-human, animal and earth liberation philosophy are portrayed as the extreme left, so extreme as to be seen as enemies not allies of long-term human survival. By putting the earth, human and animal rights before the laws of supply and demand, we are painted by those profiting from the earth's destruction as anti-human, un-American tree-huggers who care more about owls than jobs. Lost is the truth that protecting the global environment ensures the economic life expectancy that will guarantee employment for all long past the short-term survival rate that multinational corporations plan for the majority of earth's human and animal populations.

Such a strategy as that practiced against us by the Wise-Use movements and their corporate and governmental bed buddies has in recent years resulted in our movements growth and public perception suffering as environmentalism, human and animal welfare is portrayed as an issue industry embraces itself while we remain political extremists.



Meanwhile, the attention they give to life-threatening issues is limited to money spent into the pockets of environmental, social and pro-animal research scientists apologists as replacement for real action to arrest the continued downward spiral towards ecological and societal collapse.

Equally dangerous is the ever increasing denial of our civil and constitutional rights as more environmentalist find themselves the victims of violence and judicial bias that ends with us facing felony convictions, time in jail and prison while the real criminals go free. There are the extreme cases such as that suffered by Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in 1989 when they were car-bombed, but more frequent are the instances of excessive force used against peaceful, non-violent protesters such as those seen recently with Headwaters forest defenders.



Such blatant acts of state-sponsored terrorism have been happening with increased frequency in Eugene, Oregon, Cove-Mallard and other places where Earth First! impedes environmental destruction.

church where 45 Indians were massacred

Much of the recent paramilitary violence comes at a time when the PRI faces radical change in Mexico's political structure after almost 70 years of exclusive control. And most paramilitary organization has been linked to local PRI politicians attempting to preserve their power over their majority impoverished constituents.

The paramilitary violence has not been limited to southern Mexico and the indigenous population but is also evident in Mexico City, Jalisco, Sinaloa, Sonora and Baja California where dozens of people have been recently kidnapped, tortured and murdered including journalists reporting on government and police corruption. Also, PRI activist professor Mariano Arias Perez who publicly disagreed with the violence PRI has endorsed was murdered in November 1997.

The low-intensity war in Mexico broke from its fog of obscurity on December 22, 1997 in the village of Acteal, Chiapas when 70 paramilitary gunman loyal to the local PRI government slaughtered 45 unarmed women, children and men.

Many of the victims were refugees attempting to escape the government-sponsored repression that has exploded in Chiapas since the EZLN's 1994 uprising. One of the refugees Manuel Santiz said, "I ran away from my home for fear of the paramilitaries, and still they found us here."

The slaughter began as many of the 1200 Indian villagers were praying in church for an end to the violence that has accompanied the indigenous peoples cries for human rights, justice and an end to their poverty and exploitation. Three truckloads of paramilitaries rolled into Acteal and began shouting at the villagers when it was confirmed that they were unarmed. "We were in the church praying when we heard the shots," said a 15yr. old survivor.



Residents immediately reported the attack to the state police who did nothing as the gunman, some in police uniforms with insignia's removed emptied their AK-47 and AP-15 assault rifles into the crowd. Other witnesses say state police stood guard at the village entrance during the massacre.

"They (state police) told me I couldn't go any farther (on the road to Acteal) because there was a shootout," said a civil defense worker stopped just moments after the massacre began. Red Cross medical workers also say security forces denied access to Acteal as the slaughter continued.

Jesus Perez is carried into a medical center after being shot in the chest and wrist

Manuel, Ernesto and Jorge Paciencia, tended relatives wounded in the massacre in Chenalhó. Eight members of the Pacencia family were slain.

Villagers ran for shelter in the nearby river and mountainside where the assassins pursued those who lay in hiding huddled with their children. Agustín Pérez recalls, "...our children started to cry, and the attackers heard them and came after us shooting." Witnesses say when they gunman found hidden villagers they were shot execution-style.

When the paramilitaries left, the bodies of 18 children including newborn, 20 women, 4 of whom were pregnant, 7 men lay dead and 31, mostly infants and small children lie wounded. Some of the victims had been mutilated and the pregnant women had their babies pulled from their wombs with machetes (large knives) to ensure that they would die.

Police attempted to hide the bodies before they could be autopsied where it was discovered that 3 children had died because they were denied medical attention and most others were shot in the back. Doctors who operated on the survivors said the wounds indicated that expanding bullets were used and that one young girl was shot execution-style in the head.

Some of the wounded survived only by pretending they were dead. The village was ransacked by the paramilitaries who destroyed food and shelters during the 6 hour long slaughter. A painted sign remained at the entrance to Acteal that read: "Peace-Neutral Zone".

Family members carry the coffins of victims to a mass grave.

On Christmas Day as the victims of Acteal were being identified and buried, family members were prevented from dressing the dead in traditional clothing due to the condition of the bodies. Some of the dead included whole families of mothers, sisters, brothers and cousins.

In the Chenalhó municipality which contains Acteal, PRI loyalist began receiving arms in March '97 and collected "taxes" from indigenous villagers for their guns and ammunition. State police officers often assisted in their training. A Zapatista official said, "They were walking side by side with the police." at about the same time police records show that paramilitaries began burning houses and committing several murders of those sympathetic to the EZLN.

A week before the Acteal Massacre, PRI Governor of Chiapas Julio Cesar Ruiz Ferro (who won office in a widely believed fraudulent election) authorized funds for the paramilitary group Peace & Justice which in August '97 had received \$75,000 from the Chiapas government despite the harassment, intimidation, arson and murder of political opponents blamed on them.



And none of this addresses the more than a million human deaths every year from colon cancer, heart disease and other illnesses linked to meat and dairy consumption. For your own health and that of animals both wild and domestic and for the environment, now more than ever it is vital and beneficial to all to withdraw support of the livestock industry. We do not wait for the federal government to regulate an industry that is totally unnecessary in the first place. The livestock industry itself will delay action as long as possible as is reflected in the October 1997 proclamation by the Delmarva Poultry Industry. "Research" over the next 4 years will spend a million dollars on "research" to protect the environment, while delaying immediate preventative action to protect the environment.

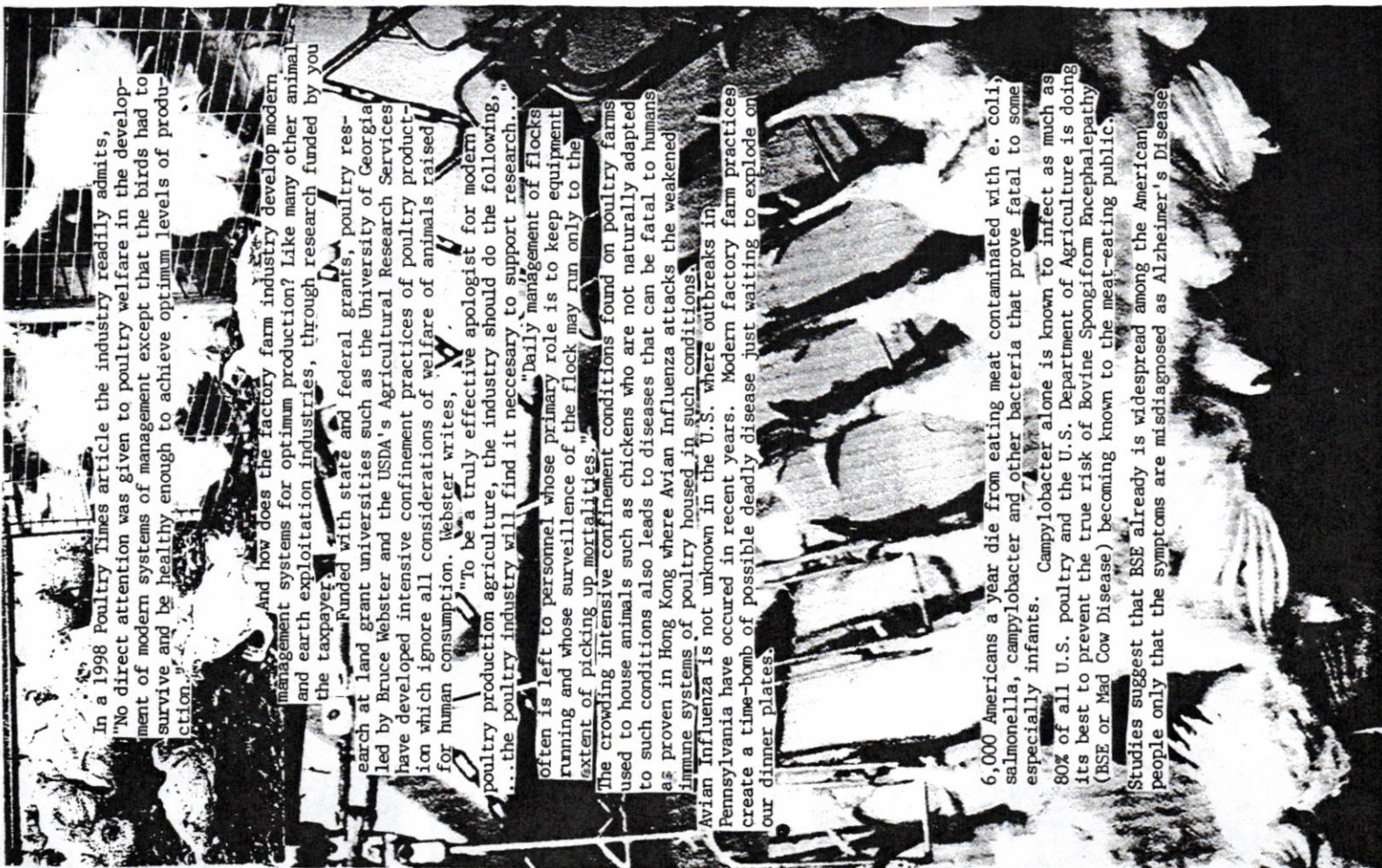
In North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Illinois, Kentucky and Nebraska rural residents are fighting to keep corporate livestock polluters out. It is time we recognize a common ground with them and form coalitions that will help our environment most of all. On the individual level we can do a lot to register our disapproval of livestock pollution. By eliminating pork, poultry, beef and dairy products produced by corporate farming operations from our diet and exploring the possibilities of a vegetarian or vegan diet with the ultimate goal of returning to growing our own food or supporting organic farmers who do we can improve not only our own health, but that of all animals and the planet.

Activist with rescued piglet.

All concerned with the impact of the animal agriculture industry on the environment, human and animal health should expect slick public relations campaigns as the industry moves into defensive postures. A public relations consultant to the Manitoba, Canada Farm Animal Council warned factory farmers in 1995, "You're all under attack for how you treat the air, the land and the water and animals. Logging and animals, it is all part of the same game, an attack on one is an attack on all." Now lets all do our part and meet the challenge.

Consumers may obtain easy, tasty, and free vegetarian recipes by calling PETA's toll-free hotline, 1-888-VEG-FOOD.





In a 1998 Poultry Times article the industry readily admits, "No direct attention was given to poultry welfare in the development of modern systems of management except that the birds had to survive and be healthy enough to achieve optimum levels of production."

And how does the factory farm industry develop modern management systems for optimum production? Like many other animal and earth exploitation industries, through research funded by you the taxpayer.

Funded with state and federal grants, poultry research at land grant universities such as the University of Georgia led by Bruce Webster and the USDA's Agricultural Research Services have developed intensive confinement practices of poultry production which ignore all considerations of welfare of animals raised for human consumption. Webster writes,

"To be a truly effective apologist for modern poultry production agriculture, the industry should do the following, ...the poultry industry will find it necessary to support research...

...often is left to personnel whose primary role is to keep equipment running and whose surveillance of the flock may run only to the extent of picking up mortalities."

The crowding intensive confinement conditions found on poultry farms used to house animals such as chickens who are not naturally adapted to such conditions also leads to diseases that can be fatal to humans as proven in Hong Kong where Avian Influenza attacks the weakened immune systems of poultry housed in such conditions.

Avian Influenza is not unknown in the U.S. where outbreaks in Pennsylvania have occurred in recent years. Modern factory farm practices create a time-bomb of possible deadly disease just waiting to explode on our dinner plates.

6,000 Americans a year die from eating meat contaminated with e. coli, salmonella, campylobacter and other bacteria that prove fatal to some especially infants.

Campylobacter alone is known to infect as much as 80% of all U.S. poultry and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is doing its best to prevent the true risk of Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE or Mad Cow Disease) becoming known to the meat-eating public.

Studies suggest that BSE already is widespread among the American people only that the symptoms are misdiagnosed as Alzheimer's Disease

Many of the victims of the Acteal Massacre belonged to the peaceful peasant organization, Las Abejas (The Bees) that is unaffiliated yet sympathetic to the EZLN and it is believed that was a cause of the slaughter as residents had been threatened with violence unless they denounced the EZLN who have maintained a ceasefire since early 1994.

A recent government report admits that Chiapas state government officials gave false testimony about their association with the Acteal Massacre revealing that Acteal was chosen as a paramilitary target because it was known villagers were unarmed and nonviolent.

A state police commander has also testified that superior officers allowed paramilitaries to use a municipal ambulance to transport weapons and ammunition used in the Acteal Massacre and ordered him to ignore the paramilitaries who flaunted illegal weapons as long as they were PRI supporters.

Following the massacre, a high-level police commander also helped the paramilitaries hide their weapons and burn uniforms. The Acteal Massacre has made it impossible to hide the activity of government-sponsored paramilitaries in Mexico, especially in Chiapas where Mayan Indians live in fear and near slavery since the Zedillo government abandoned a negotiated agreement promising indigenous peoples of Mexico greater rights and freedom.

State government officials denied that they had supported the Acteal assassins and have arrested over 40 alleged paramilitaries including the PRI Mayor of Chenalhó and the Deputy Attorney General who recruited the killers from among the unemployed and landless and armed them.

Such a strategy allows the federal government to paint the conflict in Chiapas as Indian vs. Indian rather than exposing a counterinsurgency campaign that leads back to President Zedillo himself. And though those scapegoats who pulled the triggers in Acteal may be punished, the growth and training of paramilitary death squads continues as the Mexican government turns a blind eye, allowing its policies against the EZLN and those who share the same goals to be enforced by those it can conveniently distance themselves from when necessary as in Acteal.

The Mexican government in classic Latin American fashion is tolerating the use of paramilitary violence as long as it is used against those who oppose the ruling class presently in power.

Women pay last respects to massacre victims

"I prefer to go into history as a repressor before implementing the agreements with the EZLN," Zedillo said when he refused to honor the San Andres Accords which were the product of peace negotiations between the EZLN and the Mexican government.

The agreement that led to a end of military operations by the EZLN allows indigenous self-government, education in their own language, cultural preservation and greater political representation of Mexico's indigenous population.

It is estimated that as many as 4,000 Indian villagers will flee their homes this Spring and take shelter in communities populated with EZLN supporters in an attempt to protect themselves from PRI-allied death squads. As one villager who fled his home in the Chiapan highlands where paramilitaries roam said, "Why should I wait there to be hurt?"

The paramilitary death squads have multiplied following Zedillo's actions which allowed wealthy landowners, state governments and police to reorganize with covert military and federal assistance. Since then Zedillo has increased the military presence in Chiapas as paramilitaries attempt to break the back of EZLN support which is growing among Mexico's indigenous population who have been repeatedly exploited, betrayed and victimized by government and military officials, landowners and the police.

Since March '97, villagers in Chiapas have been subject to murder, rape, beatings, torture and extortion. Near Atecal, indigenous peoples not supportive of PRI have had their coffee crops stolen and threatened with death unless they paid taxes to paramilitaries.

A month before the Atecal Massacre in the village of Pechiquil, a PRI-dominated township with a small EZLN-sympathetic enclave, local paramilitaries roused 20 families out of town firing automatic weapons over their heads, burning their homes and holding residents who didn't flee hostage.

"They want us to belong to the PRI said Salvador Ruiz Hernandez who escaped from Pechiquil, "These PRIistas only want us to do bad things. They made us steal coffee and burn houses. When I told them, 'I don't want to do that', they told me I was a traitor."

As is the case in other countries where extreme human rights abuses have led to armed uprisings, the repressive violence inflicted by government-sponsored paramilitaries attempting to squash that resistance in Mexico is being blamed on those fed up with a life of misery and struggling for something better.

hundred thousand people march in Mexico City

Environmentalists as well as animal and health advocates need to address the issue of livestock pollution if we are to protect our aquatic environments and preserve the lives of wildlife killed since the arrival of the modern corporate animal agriculture industry.

As a teenager growing up in California's Santa Clara Valley I remember the local egg farm just down the road from my parents' house. When the wind blew in a northerly direction the stench, from the open pit waste ponds was unbearable and the plastic that lined the ponds had long ago ruptured seeping underground and contaminating all the local residents' wellwater.

In later years I ventured into the barns late at night and was immediately overwhelmed by the ammonia fumes from the animals waste that accumulated under the cages. The chickens were housed 5 to a cage the size of a folded newspaper without room to spread their wings let alone touch the earth, preen or roost.

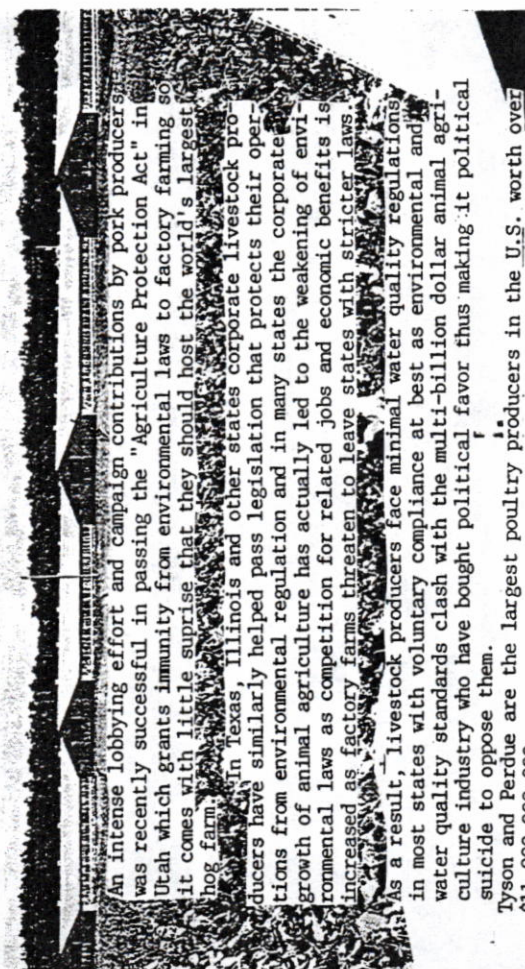
That night I decided never to eat chicken or eggs again. Later I would return to this and other eggs farms to rescue a few of these pitiful animals and take them to friends who could give them a better life.

All of my personal encounters with factory farm ex-prisoners has taught me that regardless of their genetic manipulation and isolation from nature, they still were able to dig deep down into their genetic memory to recall the way to find food and shelter if only given the chance.

Returning to a friend's barn late one night after one of these raids we removed the chickens from the carrying boxes onto the fresh earth. Though these animals had never seen the outside of their cramped cages before, they instinctually knew how to scratch the soil for insects and worms and take dust baths. And on the very first night we were all surprised to see them flutter their stiff wings skyward to roost in the rafters in the barn.

I built a chicken coop in one of my many homes and rescued 6 laying hens to fill it and though the poor animals had had their beaks seared off to prevent them from cannibalizing each other in their factory farm cages, they were still able to peck the kernels off the fresh ears of corn I fed them.

Each day I would let them out of their coop and into the yard where they would scratch, preen and dustbathe in the warm sun living the life I believe a chicken should. The eggs that they continued to lay were happily received by friends who still ate them and wanted to avoid supporting the factory farm industry.



An intense lobbying effort and campaign contributions by pork producers was recently successful in passing the "Agriculture Protection Act" in Utah which grants immunity from environmental laws to factory farming so it comes with little surprise that they should host the world's largest hog farm.

In Texas, Illinois and other states corporate livestock producers have similarly helped pass legislation that protects their operations from environmental regulation and in many states the corporate growth of animal agriculture has actually led to the weakening of environmental laws as competition for related jobs and economic benefits is increased as factory farms threaten to leave states with stricter laws.

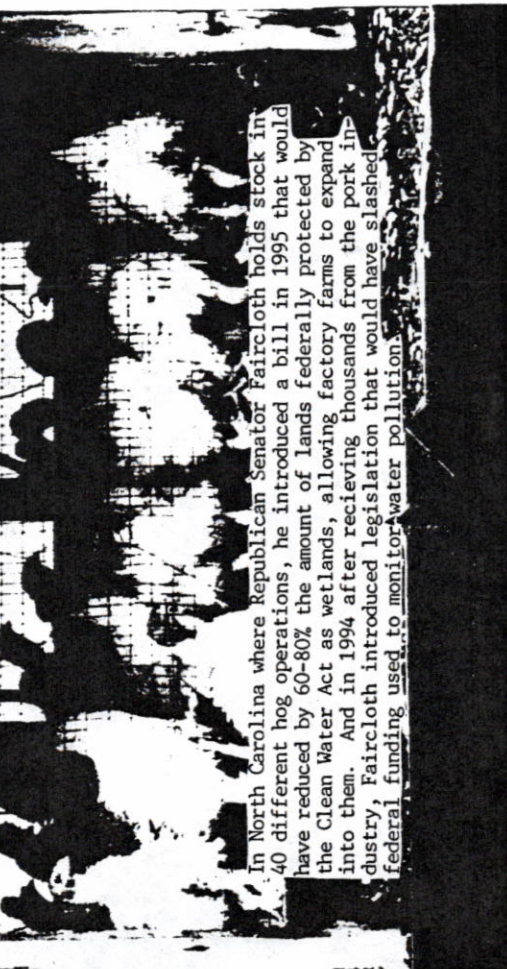
As a result, livestock producers face minimal water quality regulations in most states with voluntary compliance at best as environmental and water quality standards clash with the multi-billion dollar animal agriculture industry who have bought political favor thus making it political suicide to oppose them.

Tyson and Perdue are the largest poultry producers in the U.S. worth over \$11,000,000,000.

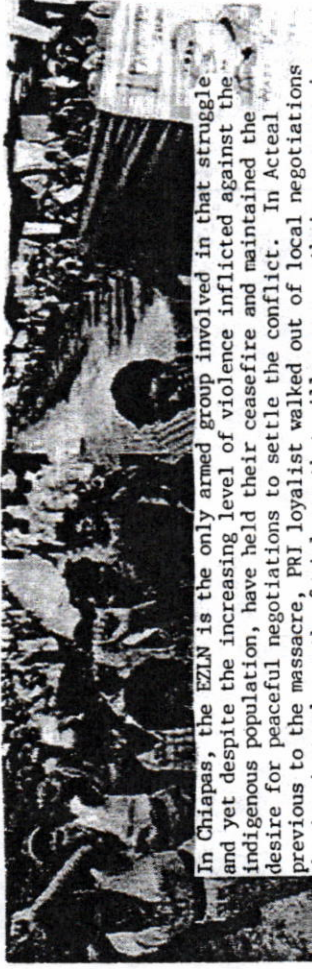


Tyson holding lucrative contracts to sell poultry to U.S. school cafeteria's, prisons and military bases was recently fined \$4,000,000 for bribing the former U.S. Agriculture Secretary and discharges up to 1,000,000 gallons of wastewater a day into local streams from just one of its Virginia processing plants.

In Maryland, the site of 1997's worst pfiesteria outbreak and where the state's agriculture Secretary raises 60,000 chickens annually for Perdue, poultry producers want a \$19,000,000 feed subsidy that will allow factory farmed chickens to digest more phosphorous, the nutrient most environmentally problematic in chicken poultry waste and now found throughout the Potomac River and other tributaries that feed Chesapeake Bay.



In North Carolina where Republican Senator Faircloth holds stock in 40 different hog operations, he introduced a bill in 1995 that would have reduced by 60-80% the amount of lands federally protected by the Clean Water Act as wetlands, allowing factory farms to expand into them. And in 1994 after receiving thousands from the pork industry, Faircloth introduced legislation that would have slashed federal funding used to monitor water pollution.

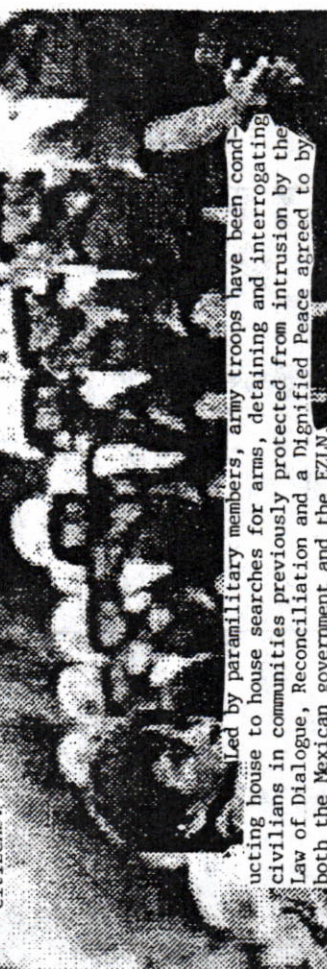


In Chiapas, the EZLN is the only armed group involved in that struggle and yet despite the increasing level of violence inflicted against the indigenous population, have held their ceasefire and maintained the desire for peaceful negotiations to settle the conflict. In Acteal previous to the massacre, PRI loyalist walked out of local negotiations choosing instead a path of violence that will preserve their power as is the case in other countries resistant to true equality and democracy.



While paramilitary forces operate as foot soldiers in Mexico's low intensity war against its indigenous population, the state police and military have continued their own campaign against the EZLN and those sympathetic to them. On January 12, 1998 state police opened fire on a peaceful march in Ocosingo that was held to celebrate the 4th Anniversary of the EZLN ceasefire. Guadalupe Mendez Lopez, a pregnant woman was killed and her 2yr. old daughter and a young boy were wounded as they stood beside the march.

The potential for such violence has increased as military and police use the cover of providing aid to Indians fearful of paramilitary attacks to sweep villages in search of arms held by EZLN sympathizers. Since the Acteal Massacre the Mexican Army has brought an additional 5,000 soldiers into Chiapas bringing its numbers to 40,000 troops, more than a quarter of the total army positioned against their own citizens.



led by paramilitary members, army troops have been conducting house to house searches for arms, detaining and interrogating civilians in communities previously protected from intrusion by the Law of Dialogue, Reconciliation and a Dignified Peace agreed to by both the Mexican government and the EZLN.

In 1994 in the village of Morelia 3 elders were tortured, murdered and their bodies burned in similar sweeps to rout the EZLN. These raids are a clear violation of the San Andres Accords which protect the EZLN from such military action and allow them to keep their weapons within their own communities where they remain today on red alert. Still, the military has boasted of arms and military equipment allegedly seized from EZLN caches and though the EZLN remains committed to peace, they have announced, "We have sought to avoid fighting with the Mexican military. If the attacks continue, conflict will be inevitable."

Hundreds of Tzotzil women have protested the military's occupation of pro-EZLN villages that ignore communities where PRI-allied paramilitary forces find refuge, saying such actions heighten tensions between pro-EZLN villagers and the army rather than alleviate fears as the army claim is the intention. "They say the President wants a dialogue," said one woman, "He just wants war and to kill Indians."

Since January, indigenous women have formed human barriers standing shoulder to shoulder on dirt roads holding their children by the hand and their babies wrapped in shawls around their chests to prevent the army from entering their villages. "We don't want any soldiers near our houses," said Adela Aguilar Morales, a 26-yr. old mother, "They just scare our children and make them cry."

The military has responded with violence beating women with clubs and rocks. "We could see them coming from far away, and they were gathering wood for clubs and rocks in buckets," said Maria Guzman who required stitches from a stone thrown by a soldier. Intercepted radio transmissions in english during the invasion of the EZLN community, La Realidad also suggest that U.S. military advisors may be actively participating in these army raids.

The strategy that targets peaceful noncombatants in an effort to crush their support of armed guerrillas is strikingly similar to military campaigns in Central American countries where paramilitary death squads were instrumental in terrorizing anti-government peasants.

It becomes even less surprising when one realizes that both those death squads and those in Mexico were trained by military personnel who received their training in counterinsurgency techniques from the U.S.

In addition to military hardware given to the Mexican military under the guise of fighting the "War on Drugs" which in turn are used against Mexico's indigenous peoples, the U.S. continues to train Mexican military personnel at the School of the Americas at Fort Reming, Georgia and at the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

But such environmental catastrophe has not curtailed the animal agriculture industry's growth. In Utah Smithfield Foods and three other North Carolina pork producers are building the world's largest hog farm that when completed this year will occupy 50,000 acres and raise 2,500,000 hogs annually. The pigs will be housed 120,000 per barn and will create more waste than all the human inhabitants of Utah.

Where human wastes and industrial discharges are regulated by state and federal guidelines, only a small percentage of factory farm operations are ever inspected. In one investigation 87% of North Carolina hog farms inspected were found to be in violation of the Clean Water Act.

Unregulated operations by the livestock industry have not come cheap. Political Action Committee (PAC) dollars help negotiate the circumvention of pollution laws in states faced with large-scale farm pollution.

In 1994 pork industry donations to North Carolina legislators totalled over \$90,000. In 1995 Smithfield Foods was the largest contributor to Virginia's Governor's PAC with \$125,000.

The dairy industry alone has contributed \$1,680,000 to federal election campaigns in 1995-96 and in California, now the nation's largest dairy state where political donations in recent years have topped \$700,000, less than half of the 1,600 dairy farms has ever been inspected despite the history of agricultural pollution that has nearly destroyed the delicate San Joaquin Valley ecosystem which also serves as the Pacific Flyway for migratory waterfowl.

THE ANIMAL AGRICULTURE EMPIRE

PRODUCERS

SUPPLIERS

SLAUGHTERERS

MARKETERS

Beef
(PFI Cattleman's Assn)
Dairy
(American Dairy Farmers Assn)
Poultry
(National Poultry Promoters Assn)
Swine
(National Pork Producers Council)
Turkey
(National Turkey Federation)
Eggs
(United Egg Producers)
Fish
(United Fish Producers Assn)
Shellfish
(United Shellfish Producers Assn)

Fertilizers & Pesticides
(Fertilizer Institute)
Feed
(American Feed Manufacturers Assn)
Vet
(American Veterinary Assn)
Medicine
(American Medical Assn)
Equipment & Packaging
(Equipment & Packaging Assn)
Transportation
(Transportation Assn)
Insurance
(Insurance Assn)
Marketing
(Marketing Assn)

Meat
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(Butcher Assn)
Deli
(Deli Assn)
Cafe
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Restaurant
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PROCESSORS

PROMOTERS

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In the Gulf of Mexico where agricultural run-off from the Mississippi River Delta is dumped, a 7,000 sq. mile area the size of New Jersey has been declared a "deadzone" due to its inability to support aquatic life.

Mississippi Watershed Nitrate Runoff

Annual nitrate runoff in kilograms per square kilometer

Less than 50 150 370 615 1,440



In 1996 there were more than 40 major animal waste spills killing hundreds of thousands of fish and other life in Texas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri and the Carolinas.

In 1995 a hog waste spill three times the volume of oil spilled in the Exxon Valdez disaster killed 15 million fish and all aquatic life in a 17 mile stretch of the Neuse River of North Carolina.

North Carolina's rivers draining the eastern coastal plain which have seen extreme hog waste pollution, now dump deadly phosphorous and nutrient pollutants into the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds which provide half of the coastal nursery for breeding fish from Maine to Florida.

In 1995 in North Carolina 35,000,000 gallons of animal waste spilled into the state's waterways killing over 10,000,000 fish and closing over 360,000 acres of coastal wetlands to shellfish harvesting.

The North Carolina Environmental Defense Fund estimates that hog farms in their state alone spread 135,000,000 lbs. of harmful nutrients into rivers every year through aerial spraying of hog waste onto croplands.

Smithfield Foods of Virginia is the East Coast's largest pork producer and was recently cited and fined for 6,982 environmental and health violations as a result of its pollution of the Pagan River which feeds Chesapeake Bay.

Smithfield's meat processing plants and farms pump tons of animal and slaughterhouse waste containing phosphorous, cyanide, oil, ammonia, and fecal coliform bacteria at such incredible levels that when the computer program used to process the statistics it believed them to be an error.

Over 3,000 Mexican soldiers have been trained in counterinsurgency techniques at the School of the Americas' (SOA) since 1995 and 1,500 were trained in Special Forces skills at Fort Bragg in 1997 alone.

Though President Clinton argued in 1993 that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) would give the U.S. greater leverage in forcing Mexico to improve its human rights record, in reality the opposite has happened. In its effort to open up Mexico to foreign and U.S. investment the U.S. has chosen to offer the same level of assistance that it gave to the U.S. backed regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama and other Latin American countries challenged internally by their own citizens opposing political dictatorships.

Rather than encourage real democracy and human rights, the U.S. is actively providing military training to those responsible for arming Mexico's paramilitary death squads who terrorize Mexican citizens.

Fort Benning's SOA was kicked out of Panama in 1984 after their then President called it the "biggest base for destabilization in Latin America". In the last 50 years, the SOA has trained over 60,000 Latin American and Caribbean troops and currently trains 900-2,000 military personnel annually. They are taught combat skills, counterinsurgency operations, sniper-fire, military intelligence, commando tactics and psychological operations.

A recently declassified manual from the SOA reveals that students at SOA are taught techniques for neutralization, execution, use of truth serum, false imprisonment, beatings, torture and blackmail. One SOA graduate testified that homeless people in Panama were kidnapped and used as guinea pigs in torture training.

Funded by the U.S. taxpayer at the tune of \$20 million a year, the SOA trains military personnel not to defend their borders from an external threat, but to wage low intensity warfare against citizens such as religious leaders, labor organizers, educators, students and others fighting for the rights of the poor and politically under-represented.

The lessons taught at the SOA clear violations of the U.S. Military Code of Justice which protects noncombatants and detainees. Latin American nations with the worst human rights records have frequently trained their death squad commanders at the SOA.

The SOA has allowed Central American war criminals to attend their training programs after their crimes were committed and even hosted some as guest speakers and instructors.

Some of El Salvador's worst war crimes were carried out by SOA graduates during their bloody civil war. These include but are not limited to soldiers responsible for the assassination of Archbishop Romero in 1980, military officers who raped and murdered 4 U.S. church women, an army patrol who executed 6 Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter, the murderers of union leaders, and soldiers responsible for over 8 separate massacres that murdered thousands of El Salvadorian women, men and children.

In Peru, SOA graduates include officers convicted in 1994 of murdering 9 university students and a professor and officers responsible for the imprisonment, torture and murder of Tupac Amaru rebels in recent years.

In Guatemala, SOA graduates have included military personnel responsible for the abduction, rape and murder of an American nun and other Guatemalan citizens and the former Chief of Intelligence who was responsible for the murder and disappearance of thousands of political opponents. Another SOA graduate is former President General Jose Efraim Rios Montt who is best remembered for his "Beans or Bullets" policy—beans for the obedient, bullets for the rest.

In Columbia, 105 officers cited for war crimes graduated from the SOA who allowed one officer to attend in order to escape investigation for his role in the murder of a peasant family.

In Honduras, the SOA has trained over 5,000 soldiers and officers including at least 19 high-ranking officers linked to the death squad Battalion 3-16, a regional police chief accused of heading a death squad specializing in assassinations and a military intelligence chief charged with the illegal detention, mistreatment and torture of children.

All together, more than 500 SOA graduates are known human rights abusers, leaders of death squads, drug traffickers and those cited for war crimes. Major Joseph Blair a former SOA instructor says, "We routinely had Latin American students who were known human rights abusers, and it didn't make a difference to us."

A recently released US Senate report on livestock waste paints a bleak picture of the environmental pollution caused by factory farms which produce 130 times more offal than the entire U.S. human population.

On average, 5 tons of livestock waste is generated for every American.

Estimated annual U.S. animal manure production for 1997 was 1,370,000,000 tons.

The 1,600 dairies in the Central Valley of California produce more waste than a city of 21 million people.

The average corporate hog farm of between 15,000-30,000 pigs produces more waste than a city of 100,000 people.

Each ton of pork produced annually from U.S. production of 90,000,000 pigs results in 32 tons of waste.

On the Delmarva Peninsula outside of Washington, D.C., 600,000,000 chickens raised on factory farms produce over 3,200,000,000 pounds of raw waste each year, as much as a city of 500,000 people.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials describe agricultural run-off as one the nation's biggest and least regulated sources of water pollution.

Agricultural officials consider 60% of America's rivers and streams "impaired" with agricultural run-off as the largest contributor to that pollution. Congress long ago exempted the agriculture industry from abiding by the Clean Water Act.

Recent outbreaks in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia of the toxic parasite *pleistheria*, which grows in the phosphorous and nitrogen-rich manure created by factory farms has ravaged river and coastal ecosystems killing millions of fish and other aquatic life.

The widely reported *pleistheria* outbreak has been directly connected to the East Coast's poultry and hog producers who comprise the largest agricultural industry in the region surpassing even tobacco.

The waste from a typical modern chicken farm of 22,000 birds produces as much phosphorous as a town of 6,000 people.

Such wastes also kill by breeding bacteria and viruses such as avian botulism and cholera which accounts for thousands of migratory water bird deaths every year.

Toxic algae and microbes produced by livestock waste in recent years have killed 162 dolphins, 304 manatees, 4 whales and hundreds of brown pelicans in Mexico, Florida and California.

Capitalist Pigs:

Factory Farming in America

The human health risks of a meat-centered diet have long been known to health-conscious consumers, but recent events have begun to expose the environmental destruction associated with the U.S. livestock industry.

The animal rights movement has always opposed the animal agriculture industry with its intensive confinement operations which raise over 9 billion farm animals a year for human consumption in the U.S. alone.

We've heard that the grain fed to livestock could feed 8 times as many humans as their flesh does and we know that meat production depletes water resources. We also know that livestock grazed on the open range causes erosion, topsoil depletion, destruction of riparian areas killing sensitive plants and animals and that hundreds of thousands of native wildlife are killed shot, poisoned and trapped to make room for cattle and sheep. But the 1990's have seen an explosion of incidents of environmental pollution never seen before caused by the intensive confinement factory farms which raise poultry, hogs and dairy cattle that produce oceans of deadly waste which are poisoning our nation's waterways and leaving behind a wake of death.

Modern animal agriculture operations dominated by a few multinational agribusiness corporations are replacing small family farms with mega-farms where millions of pigs and chickens are confined in cages where they can hardly move and never touch the earth or see the light of day.

Driven by the high demand for a meat-centered diet by the ever increasing affluent human population in countries like the U.S., the animal agriculture industries aided with improved genetic control of farm animals engineered for leaner and more muscular flesh, chemical fertilizers, and industrial pharmaceuticals have allowed a level of industrial farming that is killing our streams, rivers, estuaries and coasts.

SOA training procedures have become a blueprint for the violent repression of citizen dissent in Latin American countries struggling to survive the economic and military imperialism of U.S. and U.S. backed governments. The SOA has done nothing to promote democracy, instead it has helped destroy impoverished Latin American's only hopes for it.

Rather than help Latin American countries fight the poverty, hunger and disease that effect their people, SOA training has contributed to its increased growth. In doing so the U.S. has chosen to preserve the disproportionate level of power and wealth in Latin American countries that has brought death and oppression to hundreds of thousands of the poor while creating an environment ripe for economic globalization.

The Mexican military's present low intensity warfare strategy in Chiapas that relies on paramilitary terrorism can be traced to 13 SOA graduates who are now top military officials. Together under Zedillo's control these men form the backbone of the governments campaign to squash the EZLN and other internal resistance to the PRI's economic policies.

General Jose Ruben Rivas Pena (SOA graduate in commando and general staff training) helped design the counterinsurgency strategy in Chiapas including directives to censor local media, secretly organize sectors of civilians and conduct psychological operations against others. When the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) rose up in Oaxaca, Pena was transferred there where paramilitaries loyal to PRI soon emerged.

executed by the Mexican Army

During the 1994 EZLN uprising, SOA graduate General Juan Lopez Ortiz was sent into Chiapas to carry out repression against suspected EZLN members in Ocosingo where EZLN sympathizers were rounded up, placed alongside prisoners and shot in the town's market.

Another mastermind behind the counterinsurgency campaign in Chiapas is General Mario Renan Castillo Fernandez who served as a witness in the ceremony where over \$500,000 was given to the paramilitary Peace & Justice group by the Chiapas government. Fernandez was trained at Fort Bragg as a psychological warfare expert.

In addition to these players in Mexico's counterinsurgency war there are:

The Commander of the 31st Military Zone in Chiapas when the EZLN rose up was General Menchaca Arias, a SCA graduate in irregular warfare operations.

Colonel German Antonio Bautista graduated from the SOA in 1994 and was the Commander of an army camp outside of Ocosingo where he led troops into Indian villages interrogating residents about the EZLN's plans.

-Colonel Harold Rambling Torres (SOA graduate, Irregular Warfare Operations) Commander of the 83rd Infantry Battalion in Rancho Nuevo, Chiapas.

General Carmelo Teran Montero (SOA graduate, Military Intelligence), Commander of the "Teran" Task Force in las Tacitas, Chiapas.

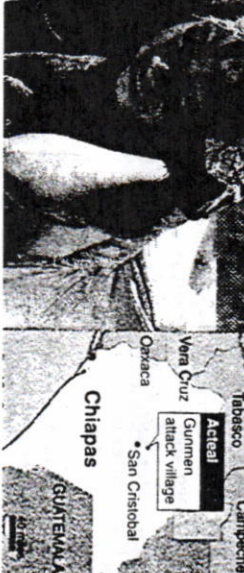
Colonel Jose Luis Lopez Ruvalcaba (SOA graduate, Jungle Operations), Commander of the Combined Operations Base of the 7th Military Region, Chiapas.

—General Carlos Demetrio Gaytan Ochoa (SOA graduate, Administration & Supply)
Commander of the "Gaytan" Task Force in Monte Libano, Chiapas.

-General Enrique Alonso Garrido (SOA graduate, course unknown), who was one of the Commanders of the 83rd Battalion in Rancho Nuevo, Chiapas in 1994.

And the SOA and Fort Bragg trained Mexican military personnel are not only in Chiapas committing human rights abuses. Recent reports of paramilitary activity in Guerrero state have been connected to 3 SOA graduates, General Miguel Leyva Garcia, General Edmundo Leyva Galindo and Lt. Colonel Joel Ciprian who according to a report on human rights violations committed by the Mexican military have committed several abuse and are suspected of many murders.

In Jalisco state, 28 officers and soldiers from the Mexican Special Forces (currently receiving training at Fort Bragg) under the command of SOA graduate Colonel Julian Guerrero Barrios have been arrested in connection with the kidnapping and torture of 19 Nahuatl Indian youths, one of whom drowned in their own blood after a soldier cut his tongue.



Glória "Elisa" Benavides /
The Mexican government says she is a leader in the Zapatista National Liberation Army.



LONGKESH

**H Blocks
Long Kesh
Lisburn**

[illegible]



In the U.S., fellow H-Block escapees Kevin Barry, Pól Brennan and Terry Kirby were arrested in California in August '97 and are awaiting extradition back to Long Kesh at the Federal Detention Center in Dublin, California.

Simon

Irish officials recently paid them a visit, postponing official welcomes from the Mayor of San Francisco and others so they could first spend hours with their comrades to hear their concerns regarding the peace process and to remind them that their freedom is at the top of their agenda.

Back at Long Kesh, Liam Averill was one Irish P.O.W. who did not wait for British approval for his release. Following the May '97 discovery of an unfinished tunnel, escape-minded P.O.W.'s were moved to another H-Block where following a Christmas party for children of prisoners Averill disguised himself as a woman and left the high-security prison with visitors.

Averill was only 3 years into a double-life sentence his mother says was only possible with Northern Ireland's unjust Diplock process whereby there are no juries or right to remain silent. Averill was miles away herding sheep when the murders took place.

Maze prison, 12 miles from Belfast, Northern Ireland

26 Counties

Portlaoise Prison
Portlaoise
County Laois

IRELAND

FREE THE POWS
FREE THE POWS
FREE THE POWS

Release
ALL
Political
Prisoners
NOW!

USA

NAME SENTENCE

HOWARD ARNOLD 10
LEWIS BARRY ARIT 'AEP'
POL BRENNAN 'AEP'
TERRY KIRBY 'AEP'

*Awaiting Extradition Proceedings

Support An Current Cabirach and

SEADONALTOOS 10

An Current Cabirach or Green Cross

44 Pinnel Square or 5155 Falls Road

Dublin 1 Belfast 12

The address for POW Richard C. Johnson is:

17422-038 UA56, FCI Allenwood, PO Box 1000, White Deer Pa

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

17887, USA

Maghaberry

Maghaberry Prison, Old Road, Upper
Ballynally, Lisburn, County Antrim

NAME SENTENCE

PETER BATESON 25

MARTINA ANDERSON LIFE

ROSINA BROWN 20

ANISH CARROLL 15

GERALDINE FERRITY LIFE

ROSALINE MCCORMLEY 22

ROSANNA MCGILVER LIFE

ELLA O'DWYER LIFE

MAIRE WRIGHT 24

For info on how you can help:

Lifeline Saoirse USA, P.O. Box 4624, Philadelphia, PA 19127-0624

There exists without a doubt, collusion between state government officials and paramilitary death squads as evidenced by weapons used in the Acteal Massacre. Both AK-47's and American-made AR-15's are officially issued only to the military and witnesses say those responsible for the Acteal Massacre include former soldiers and others who are army-trained. Also Chiapas Governor Ferro was forced to resign following confirmation that opposition politicians had warned 3 times the day before the slaughter of a planned paramilitary attack in Acteal.

Following the Acteal Massacre, Interior Minister Emilio Chauyffet (who was responsible for negotiations with the EZLN) was forced to resign. The Interior Ministry supervises law enforcement agencies including those supposedly combating drug traffickers who receive direct U.S. aid including arms.

His replacement is Horacio Labastidio Ochoa, former Governor of Sinaloa where the military commander (SOA graduate General Reta Trigos) gave legal status to the Guardias Blancas (White Guards) a paramilitary group used to control rebellious peasants.

The presence of paramilitary death squads in Mexico, especially Chiapas, where such groups like Peace & Justice, Red Masks and the Indigenous Revolutionary Anti-Zapatista Movement operate is aimed some human rights workers believe, at provoking a violent response from the EZLN which would justify a military response to those opposing the PRI peaceably.

EZLN

And now after over 50 years of U.S. campaigns to create U.S. controlled economic policies in Latin America that have secured U.S. supportive governments in virtually every Central American country, the Zapatista Army for National Liberation has risen, throwing up a roadblock to the U.S.'s marketing of indigenous lands and resources and preventing the last piece in the economic globalization puzzle from being placed.

And accordingly, since the EZLN's 1994 uprising, Mexico has become the SOA's largest source of students with recent Mexican paramilitary death squads activity only a harbinger of what is to come should the indigenous spirit of Mexico remain unbroken.

A recently leaked Mexican Army planning document reveals the secret of Mexico's and the U.S.'s dirty war against Indian people:

Key objective: To destroy the relationship of support which exists between the population and the transgressors of the law. military intelligence services should secretly organize certain sectors of the civilian population: ranchers, small businessmen, individuals, train and support self-defense forces or other paramilitary organizations, in cases where self-defense forces do not exist, it is necessary to create them. General Jose Ruben Rivas Peña, Seventh Military Region, Mexican Federal Army, Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas.

The Zapatistas are not fighting the Mexican revolution. The Zapatistas are part of a global movement against global capitalism (neoliberalism). They are all Zapatistas! (Todes Somos Zapatistas)

Against all this amassed military, police, government and paramilitary force stand the Zapatistas, an army largely made up of women and men less than 22 years of age and who represent possibly North America's last armed Indian resistance.

The kind of society proposed by the EZLN is the kind of true democracy that once was, and with all of our support and participation can be again.

But in order for that dream of the past to become a reality, we must actively oppose the proliferation of U.S. trained military personnel and their allied paramilitary death squads who represent today the kind of barbarity that we condemn when used against indigenous peoples in the last century.

As American's in today's Indian Wars of economic globalization by politicians financed by multinational corporations, we are hypocrites when we romanticize the culture and resistance of indigenous peoples in this country 125 years ago while paying with our taxes and consumption of corporate products for the murder and oppression of Indian culture and resistance in Mexico and other Latin American countries today.

Through the low-intensity warfare of threats, intimidations, physical violence and protection and preservation of corrupt government, the U.S. and Mexican government and military are continuing the conquest began by conquistadors in the "New World" 500 years ago.

And with the same level of determination that U.S. President Grant and Mexican President Diaz exerted in the 19th Century to crush the Apache and Yaqui resistances that stood in the way of anti-nature colonialism, so to does President's Clinton and Zedillo intend to shatter the Zapatista's dream which is the hope of indigenous traditionalists everywhere.

Our role as allies of the EZLN's modern-day resistance is to strike from within the belly of the beast. The threat to Mexico's indigenous peoples is no longer the colonial rule of Spain as it once was, but the Invader powerbase that lies within U.S. borders.

At the School of America's and at Fort Bragg's Special Warfare School where military murderers are trained, in the Pentagon where U.S. military aid is dictated, on Capitol Hill where high-paid lobbyists negotiate foreign investment and in corporate boardrooms where NAFTA advocates await the commercial exploitation of resources in indigenous peoples' homelands. Here lies the hands of the puppeteers who control the strings of military police and paramilitary death squads throughout the world and herein lies our targets as Zapatista allies in the heart of their enemy.



IRA's New Year message

THE leadership of Ogiligh ne hEireann extends New Year greetings to our friends and supporters at home and abroad.

We send solidarity greetings to our imprisoned comrades in Ireland, England and USA.

We remember with pride Volunteer Patrick Kelly who died during the past year as a direct result of the denial of medical treatment while imprisoned in England and send our warmest wishes to his family.

Volunteer Liam Averill and his family are in the U.S. in effecting the escape from jail. We have 1997 behind us and are impatient with the lack of progress in the negotiations.

We reiterate our belief that the root cause of conflict in Ireland is the occupation of part of our country. Eight centuries of history stand as irrefutable testimony to the belief that a united independent Ireland, free from British interference, and ruled by and for the people of this island, offers the best guarantee of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in Ireland.

Ireland's 327 political prisoners are still a major focus of peace talks and former P.O.W.'s are frequently targeted for harassment, arrests and beatings by the RUC. One of Sinn Féin's objectives is to achieve the liberation of all P.O.W.'s before any peace accord can be agreed to.

S A Prisoners' Q

December is traditionally Prisoner's Month and Saorise, the prisoners support group organized demonstrations and marches across Ireland and Britain demanding their release. These protests were often met with RUC violence in the 6 counties where senior citizens and children being attacked and film of the assaults confiscated. Roisin McAliskey is still held in an English prison with her newborn daughter on no charge relating to an IRA action in Germany that happened while she was in Belfast. She is the daughter of Bernadette McAliskey who survived a loyalist attack leaving her shot 9 times and her husband dead.

POLITICAL KILLFASE ALL HOSTAGES

4 IRA Volunteers were sentenced in London in December for conspiring to plant hoax bombs at UK power stations. Despite the fact that there were no real explosives, only sugar they were given 35 years.

1983 H-Block escaper and former Officer Commanding during the '81 hunger strike, Brendan 'Bik' McFarlane in January was re-arrested and charged with a '83 kidnapping on the final day of his probation for his original sentence which he escaped from but was later recaptured for. He had been out of prison and active in the struggle since 1993.

OPEN THE DOOR TO PEACE
FREE THE P.O.W.'s

After a year that has seen a dozen assassinations by loyalist paramilitaries we note the growing signs that the British government are looking to the military to resolve the conflict. The British government has yet to demonstrate its commitment and fully grasp the political settlement.

We remain acutely aware that Ogiligh ne hEireann is the only military organisation on cessation.

Equity 75 years of unrelenting military and its accompanying stand as a stark reminder that no internal settlement can deliver justice, equality or peace.

We reiterate also our belief that all-party inclusive negotiations are crucial to the resolution of the conflict between the British government and the Irish people. Over the past number of years we have continually affirmed our willingness to facilitate the development of a process with the potential for securing a lasting settlement to this conflict. In announcing a cessation of military operations on 20 July last year we demonstrated again our preparedness to match words with deeds and live up to our responsibilities in this regard. Five months on, the British government has yet to demonstrate its commitment and fully grasp the political settlement.

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in blocking any move towards the establishment of a meaningful negotiations process the unilateral perspective remains only a desire to perpetuate conflict. The primary motivation for dealing with this British government, then, is to do so not only allows national leaders to pursue a policy of non-engagement, but also contributes directly to the creation of the political vacuum in which loyalist murder gangs flourish. Events of the last days of 1997 are a reminder of both the necessity for a negotiated settlement and the price of failure to achieve this.

Conscious therefore of the need for speedy and visible signs of progress we begin the New Year with the fervent hope that a real and truly inclusive negotiations process will soon begin. We remind the British government of their central responsibility in this respect. Failure should not be an option. It is their responsibility to end the situation in Ireland. Belfast, 1st Jan.

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And as is practiced in other lands where the people struggle to be free, oppression is not only preserved by unjust judicial, legal, political and police systems, but also by the strategic use of paramilitary forces that divide communities in resistance and create an atmosphere of fear among those opposing government sanctioned repression.

In the absence of real peace through equality and justice that only Britain can guarantee, the British and Unionist government of Northern Ireland has chosen to continue its militarization of a foreign nation rather than give her the liberty her people have cried and suffered for for far too long.

Only by allowing the Irish people a truly democratic process to decide their future can further bloodshed be averted such as with an island-wide vote on the future of British occupation and the partitioning of Ireland rather than protection of Unionist control and violence that shows itself in the present peace-talks.

No amount of British troops, riot gear-clad police officers or insincere political maneuvers will bring true peace to Ireland. Sinn Féin and the IRA are currently showing their commitment to a peaceful resolution in Northern Ireland despite the continuing murder of their constituents. Now it is time for loyalist, unionist, and British's government to do the same. Without such positive measures Britain should know based on the last 8 centuries that resistance will continue. Until then we can be assured that loyalist thugs, unionist police and British soldiers will continue to cruise the streets of Northern Ireland's nationalist communities punishing those whose only crime is the desire for equality and Freedom.

The School of the Americas does not carry on its bloody legacy without resistance. For many years peace activists have demonstrated against the U.S. training of Latin American death squad members at Ft. Benning.

On November 16, 1997 the 8th anniversary of the massacre of 6 Jesuit priests and 2 women in El Salvador by SOA graduates, 2,000 people began a funeral march to Ft. Benning to deliver petitions demanding the SOA's closure.

Half a mile from the main gate, military police began arresting marchers. 601 were arrested and 28 priests, nuns, pastors, nurses, teachers, Catholic workers, war veterans and grandmothers who had been arrested at Ft. Benning before were sentenced to 6 months in prison.

One of those going to prison, Rev. Ken Kennon of Tucson, Arizona testifies, "Justice is turned upside down. We will go to prison for walking in a funeral procession while SOA killers and those who train them go free."

5 other SOA opponents including a priest and nun also face years in prison on Destruction of Government Property charges for a September action at Ft. Benning where a sign was painted to read, "Welcome to Ft. Benning-- Home of the School of the Americas-- SOA = TORTURE".

One of the activists going to trial before the same judge who issued injunctions banning Martin Luther King's civil rights marches in Georgia says, "It felt no pain. It felt no terror. It did not bleed, nor did it die. No other wall fears it may be next. I can well imagine a jury being troubled proportionately troubled, by the massacre that took place in El Salvador on Nov. 16, 1989 and the many other brutalities of SOA graduates that prompted our actions."

In addition, SOA opponent Pat Liteky was convicted in January of pouring blood at the Pentagon and is due for sentencing in April.

The Best way to show your support for these brave people, all political prisoners and paramilitary and military death squad victims is to redouble our efforts to close the SOA and the other murderous institutions that have led to their deaths and imprisonment.

National Commission for Democracy in Mexico

2001 Montana, Suite B
El Paso, Texas 79903

Tel/Fax: (915) 532-8382

moonlight@igc.apc.org

http://www.igc.org/ncdm

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PO Box 3330 1719 Irving St NW

Columbus GA 31903 Washington, DC 20010

(706) 682-5369 (202) 234-3440

Letters of support may be sent to Anne Herman
#88104-020, P.O. Box 200, Danbury CT 06811-
3099, and Carol Richardson #88116-020, P.O. Box 200,
Box B, Alderson, WV 24910-0991. The 22 people
sentenced on January 21 - Fr. Bill Richard SJ, Fr. Roy
Bourgeois MM, Rev. Dr. Nicholas Cardell, Mary Earley,
Sr. Marie Llerman OSI, Sr. Mary Kay Flanagan OSI,
Paddy Inman, Christopher Jones, Rev. Ken Kennon, Ed
Kinane, Dwight Lawton, Rita Lacey, Bill McNulty, Sr.
Meagan Rice, Dan Sage, Doris Sage, Randy Serraglio, Sr.
Rita Steinhagen CSJ, Ann Tiffany, Mary Trotochand,
Judith Williams, and Ruby Woodring - expect to receive
prison assignments within the next several weeks.
Information about their sentence dates and prison location
will be available on the internet at www.soa.org and also
from SOA Watch.

WOMEN'S REVOLUTIONARY LAW

Zapatista Women

In the just fight for the liberation of our people, the EZLN incorporates women into the revolutionary struggle, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, requiring only that they share the demands of the exploited people and that they commit to the laws and regulations of the revolution. In addition taking into account the situation of the woman worker in Mexico, the revolution supports their just demands for equality and justice in the following Women's Revolutionary Law.

First: Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in a way determined by their desire and capacity.

Second: Women have the right to work and receive a just salary.

Third: Women have the right to decide the number of children they will have and care for.

Fourth: Women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and hold positions of authority if they are freely and democratically elected.

Fifth: Women and their children have the right to primary attention in matters of health and nutrition.

Sixth: Women have the right to education.

Seventh: Women have the right to choose their partner, and are not to be forced into marriage.

Eighth: Women shall not be beaten or physically mistreated by their family members or by strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.

Ninth: Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.

Tenth: Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the Revolutionary Laws and regulations.

Liam Kray, whose brother was shot by British soldiers on "Bloody Sunday" in 1972 when the army fired on peaceful civil rights marchers says of Britain's support of violent opposition to such resistance, "The Brits have to do more than simply apologize. They have to face their responsibilities. Countless people have lost their lives in an armed struggle, thousands of families have been torn, hundreds of men and women have been interned and are still today in jail because they were taught on Bloody Sunday that civil rights requests and peaceful demonstrations did not work." As the INLA have shown, there are Irish republicans who lack the patience and perseverance that the IRA and Sinn Fein demonstrate. The Continuity Army Council is another republican organization that has broken from the IRA as well as the 32-County Sovereignty Committee which has Bernadette Sands McKeivitt (sister of hunger striker Bobby Sands) as one of its leading members.

When we see the larger issues on the table in Northern Ireland that British Intelligence and the media conglomerates hide, it becomes clear why those presently in control are threatened by a united Ireland.

Sinn Fein and the entire Republican community of Northern Ireland have always expressed their desire for peaceful negotiations, but the British military and police and paramilitary groups continued escalation and use of violent and deadly force against nationalists has left them dependent on the IRA for defense.

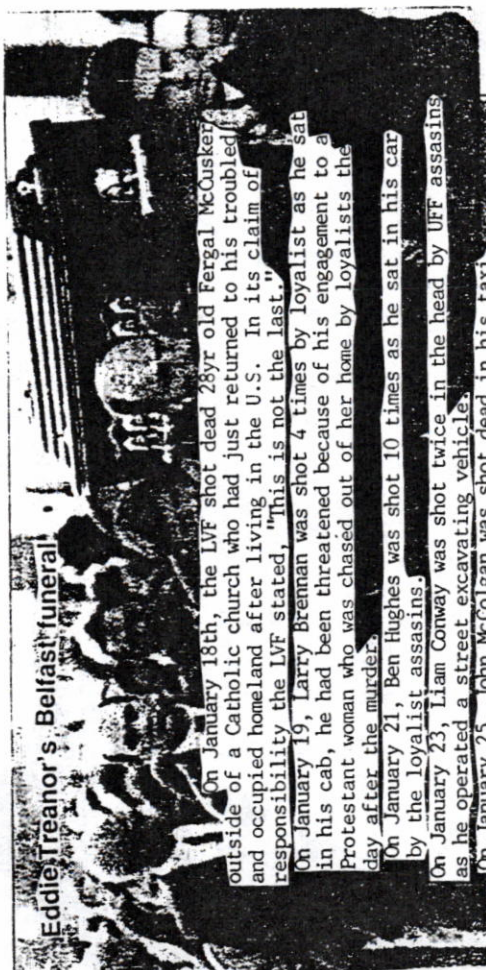
LIVE
shot to death
Catholic
found in Maghera.

Just as the U.S. fears the socialism of Cuba, so also would Britain fear Ireland breaking rank from the current economic trend towards neoliberalism (economic globalization) that helps preserve concentrated world power such as that of the U.S. and the UK.

Previous to partitioning, Sinn Fein was a major political party and should it return as one with the achievement of unifying Ireland, their vision of a sustainable economy with equal distribution of wealth and trading relations with other independent nations governed by socialist policies could be perceived as a threat to imperialist powers intent on global economic control. Such policies would create a fracture within the strategies of U.S. and UK governments and corporations that are on the threshold of economic and military domination. Without this justification the actions of the military, police and paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland can be seen for what they really are, the preservation of old-guard colonial control that has denied liberty and justice to the oppressed indigenous peoples in an occupied homeland. The efforts of the British propaganda machine to portray the "troubles" in Northern Ireland as religious strife or civil war with the only possible peace being continued Unionist control, all help justify Britain's continued occupation of Ireland.



DAVID MCKENNA
after being shot by
a plastic bullet fired by
a British soldier



Eddie Treanor's Belfast funeral

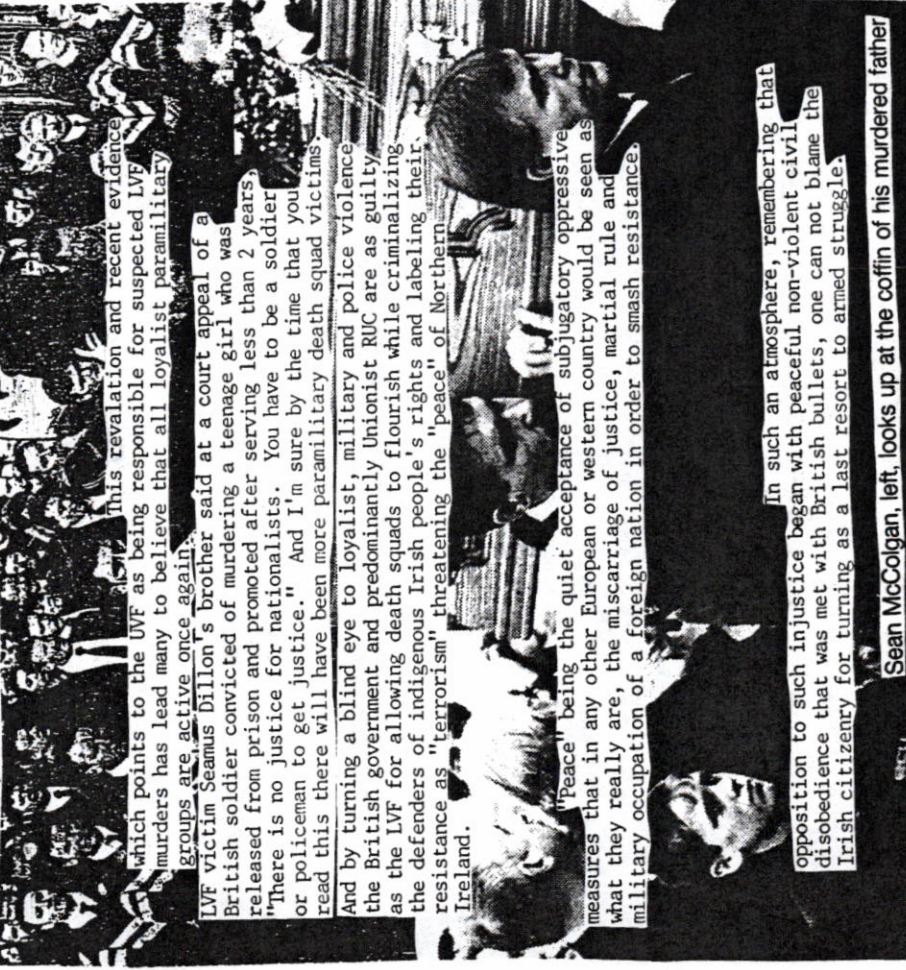
On January 18th, the LVF shot dead 28yr old Fergal McCusker, outside of a Catholic church who had just returned to his troubled and occupied homeland after living in the U.S. In its claim of responsibility the LVF stated, "this is not the last."

On January 19, Larry Brennan was shot 4 times by loyalist as he sat in his cab, he had been threatened because of his engagement to a Protestant woman who was chased out of her home by loyalists the day after the murder.

On January 21, Ben Hughes was shot 10 times as he sat in his car by the loyalist assassins.
On January 23, Liam Conway was shot twice in the head by UFF assassins as he operated a street excavating vehicle.

On January 25, John McColgan was shot dead in his taxi.
In an attempt to stop the death squads, the INLA took action once again assassinating Jim Guiney a prominent member of the UDA who the RUC has revealed is behind at least 3 of the recent murders which have been claimed by the UFF.

Journers carry the coffin of Terry Enright



LVF victim Seamus Dillon's brother said at a court appeal of a British soldier convicted of murdering a teenage girl who was released from prison and promoted after serving less than 2 years. "There is no justice for nationalists. You have to be a soldier or policeman to get justice." And I'm sure by the time that you read this there will have been more paramilitary death squad victims.

And by turning a blind eye to loyalist, military and police violence the British government and predominantly Unionist RUC are as guilty as the LVF for allowing death squads to flourish while criminalizing the defenders of indigenous Irish people's rights and labeling their resistance as "terrorism" threatening the "peace" of Northern Ireland.

"Peace" being the quiet acceptance of subjugatory oppressive measures that in any other European or western country would be seen as what they really are, the miscarriage of justice, martial rule and military occupation of a foreign nation in order to smash resistance.

In such an atmosphere, remembering that opposition to such injustice began with peaceful non-violent civil disobedience that was met with British bullets, one can not blame the Irish citizenry for turning as a last resort to armed struggle.

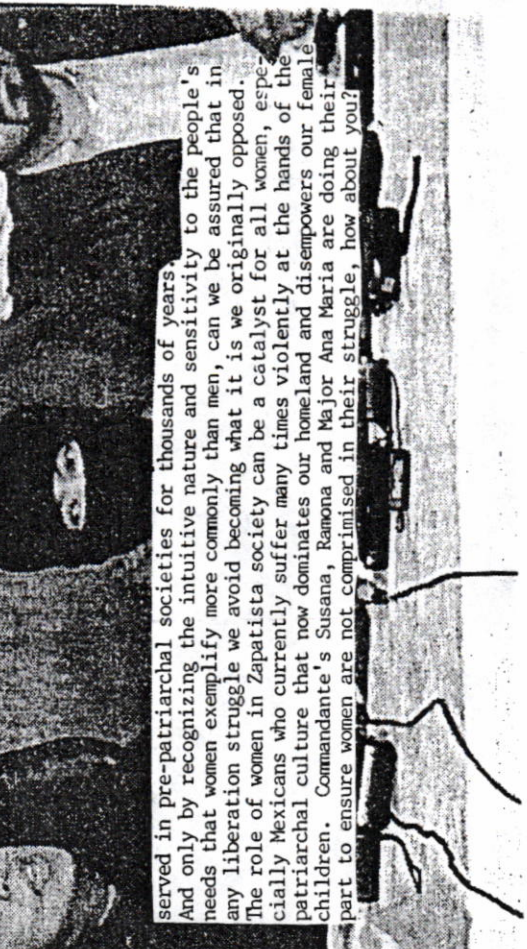
Sean McColgan, left, looks up at the coffin of his murdered father

LAS MUJER Luchan y al MUNDO TRANS

The women have come to understand that their participation was important in order to change this bad situation; that's why they, although not all of them, are participating in the armed struggle. This is my country too; I am part of this nation, I will make this country a place where my children can live. I call to the people of Mexico. Our movement is indigenous. Initially we sought democracy, justice and dignity; now we also seek peace.

Some in the U.S. find the integral role Zapatista women play in their struggle unusually inspiring, but to indigenous peoples of the Americas, women have always been central in all elements of life. Spiritually, they are closer to our Creator because of their live-giving power, socially indigenous women have always been the fabric that holds our communities together be it through raising our children or raising the awareness of others to the concerns of our people. Culturally, indigenous women have provided teaching of language and tradition to the children who surround them, politically the women's voices have represented the perspectives of those akin to long and patient observat-

ion within our society that allows wise decisions and militarily, when our backs are against the wall, women have taken up the defense of our people regularly enough to be less of an oddity and expectably reliable and dependent. The fact that Zapatista women are presently at the forefront of the struggle for freedom in Chiapas does not reveal a cowardice in Mayan men, but the traditional bravery of women, those most accustomed to our suffering. For this reason, the accomplishments of Commandante's Ramona and Susana as the driving force behind the passage of the EZLN's Revolutionary Laws on Women. The Mayan women of Chiapas who comprise over 40% of EZLN forces can serve as an example to women in struggle everywhere that equality is just one step towards liberation. A truly just and democratic society must allow women back into the leadership roles they have traditionally



served in pre-patriarchal societies for thousands of years. And only by recognizing the intuitive nature and sensitivity to the people's needs that women exemplify more commonly than men, can we be assured that in any liberation struggle we avoid becoming what it is we originally opposed. The role of women in Zapatista society can be a catalyst for all women, especially Mexicans who currently suffer many times violently at the hands of the patriarchal culture that now dominates our homeland and disempowers our female children. Commandante's Susana, Ramona and Major Ana Maria are doing their part to ensure women are not compromised in their struggle, how about you?

Death Squads in Ireland

On July 20, 1997 the Irish Republican Army (IRA) declared a ceasefire allowing its allied political party, Sinn Féin (the ourselves) a place at Multi-party peace talks between representatives from the British and Irish governments, pro-British Unionists and moderate Nationalist parties who like Sinn Féin favor an end to the partitioning of Ireland.

The combined IRA military and Sinn Féin political campaign has forced the British Empire to concede that those who desire a united Ireland free of colonial control deserve to be heard. This was evidenced by the December '97 meeting between UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and Sinn Féin delegates, virtually all of whom were once political prisoners. The meeting at London's 10 Downing St. took place just yards from where mortars launched by the IRA in 1991 landed harmlessly proving that the IRA were capable of taking their struggle for freedom to the heart of their oppressor.

Begun in September '97, the peace talks have produced little progress with Unionist parties refusing to negotiate with Sinn Féin and the British government delaying demilitarization and troop withdrawal from nationalist areas. The nationalists frustration with inequality and lack of substantial progress at the talks has been portrayed as a threat to the talks despite Sinn Féin's repeated commitment to non-violence.

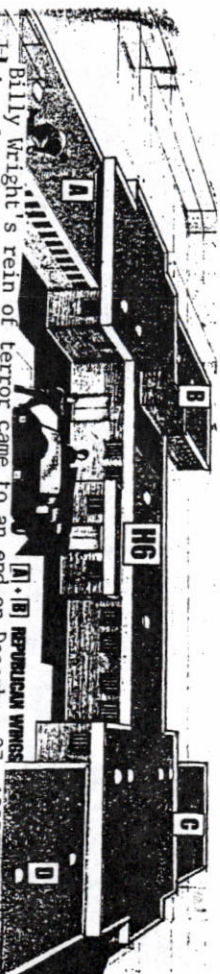
Only by adhering to non-violent principles are each delegation to the peace talks allowed to participate, though Unionist members have repeatedly threatened to walk out and boycott the negotiations because of Sinn Féin's participation.

Unfortunately, since the IRA ceasefire began the British military presence in Northern Ireland has increased alongside Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) police brutality and a continuing murder campaign by loyalist death squads intent on wrecking the peace process.

Collusion between military, police and paramilitary death squads has been a reality of Britain's counter-insurgency war in Ireland for hundreds of years and was recently proven with the admittance that more than 2,000 RUC files on nationalists had been given to loyalists.

This should come with little surprise when one realizes that RUC Chief, Ronnie Flanagan has been implemented in shoot-to-kill policies in the 70's and 80's that were used to murder IRA suspects.

nationalists face
RUC ring of steel



Billy Wright's rein of terror came to an end on December 27, 1997 when 3 Irish National Liberation Army members (INLA-a group that broke from the IRA in the early 1970's) housed in an adjoining cellblock climbed a wall, cut wire, crawled over a roof, and after Wright was placed in a transport van for a visit, jumped down and ran to the van opening its back doors, slinging out Wright and shooting him dead as shocked prison guards sat in their front seats. The INLA trio then calmly surrendered their smuggled weapons to a prison chaplain and accepted full responsibility for their action, saying Wright was killed for his, "ongoing genocide against nationalist. Billy Wright was executed for one reason, and one reason only, and that was for directing and waging his campaign of terror against the nationalist people from his prison cell."

After his death it was learned that the UVF asked Wright to return to its ranks bringing with him his new connections among the UDA's most notorious killers. These combined paramilitary members are continuing their campaigns which began again after Wright's death. When loyalist torched cars outside of a nursing home, terrifying its elderly residents and forcing firefighters back with stones.

UVF members hijacked buses and cars at gunpoint and set them afire and drove to a Dunganon teen dance where in a drive-by shooting they attempted to spray the young party-goers with automatic fire. They were prevented by the brave actions of Seamus Dillon, an ex-IRA P.O.W. who sensing that the attack was coming, blocked the doors. He died and 4 others including a 14yr old boy were also shot. 4 hours earlier, the RUC had issued warnings of an attack, but failed to notify the hotel where the dance took place despite it being the location of another loyalist murder in 1990.

On New Year's Eve the UVF's campaign continued when gunman fired indiscriminately into a crowded Belfast pub, killing Edmund Treanor and wounding 5 others seriously. The murder took place in a heavily surveilled area with police cameras and a 60-foot watchtower, yet no police attempt was made to intercept the gunman's car.

When concerned family members tried to inquire about the injured at the site to the RUC, they were physically thrown aside and told to "fuck off". On January 11th, 2 UVF assassins drove up to a nightclub in Belfast city center where Catholic and Protestant are treated equally and shot dead 28yr old father of two Terry Enright, a community activist who organized meetings and hiking trips for Protestant and Catholic youth.

Widow (left)
carries his
coffin

Seamus
Dillon's
funeral



Known by the media as King Rat, security chiefs call Wright one of the most vicious killers of the last 25 years, but as his victims were not British soldiers or police, did little to stop him.



In March 1997 Wright was finally imprisoned for threatening a Protestant woman witness to loyalist beatings and was transferred to Long Kesh (Waze) prison (S.H.#3) where 257 members of loyalist paramilitary groups are also imprisoned.

Billy Wright
Kathy wife of
UDA leader,
Alex Kerr

Mid-Ulster MP

Diarmuid Shields



ROBERT HAMILL

he was associated with, Wright told a reporter, "There's not a death I regret." From his new H-block prison wing where a banner in one cell reads, "Kill'em all-let God sort'em out." Wright was able to direct his murderous followers who opposed to the peace talks saw him as a hero.

Wright was charged with murder in the 1980's but acquitted and later imprisoned for 6 years on arms and hijacking charges. When innocent Catholics were blown to bits in UDA and UVF bombings of crowded pubs in the early 1990's, Wright responded, "That's just war."

The UVF's continuing campaign against Catholics included more than 3 churches being firebombed, 4 others attacked, bomb attacks on Sinn Fein offices, over 17 Catholic homes wrecked, attempted kidnappings, a bus driver badly burned when loyalist rioters attacked his bus, pelting Catholic children with stones, posting "hit lists" on high school students and other violence.

British government and police tell the world a loyalist ceasefire is in place with the greatest threat to the peace process being alleged splits in the IRA.

In December, the nationalist town of Derry was shutdown by the RUC so a loyalist march with UVF members could parade through the city center. When local residents prevented from reaching their homes protested, dogs were set on them and baton swinging RUC police attacked the crowds which included elderly, women and children.

"Here's some dogs to bite your balls off, you Fenian bastards!"
-RUC dog handler

Capitalizing on the activity of loyalist death squads, Unionist delegates are hinting at a continuation of the violence unless they are guaranteed continued political control in the 6 counties of Ireland separated by the British in 1922.

If it was the IRA continuing its military campaign, you could be assured they would have already been excluded with the type of international media condemnation that alludes British and Unionist violence. The threat to peace in Ireland does not come from Irish nationalists defending themselves, but from what they are forced to defend themselves from. Death squads both civilian and military who intimidate, threaten, attack and murder those who only want justice and equality in a 75 year old artificially created statelet where loyalist terror is used to preserve social, economic and Unionist political supremacy over the indigenous population.



The use of political violence did not begin with the IRA or other Irish nationalists. It began with the very same people who continue it today despite an IRA ceasefire.

The same forces who have violently expressed their intent to destroy peaceful negotiations with the kind of terrorism which has led to over 3,200 deaths in the last 30 years and tens of thousands in recent centuries.

It did not begin with Ireland's attack on the British or Unionist population of the 6 counties of Northern Ireland, it began with the invasion of Ireland 800 years ago and the threat of full-scale war against the Irish 75 years ago unless the partition was allowed giving the Unionist majority in those 6 counties control over the non-Unionist population. And by promising that Unionist artificial majority the right to veto any achievement made at the present day peace talks, the British government is once again using the "call for peace" for its own political agenda.

An agenda that turns peace talks into a forum for dominant powers to tell democratically elected political representatives of the Indigenous Irish that they will not surrender control over their last colony or allow the entire Irish population to democratically decide the future of their country in an all-Ireland vote. Even though the Unionist population would fare better politically as 20% of a united Ireland rather than as 2% of the United Kingdom.

masked
RUC riot squad
attack nationalist
protestors

If the British government and RUC's concerns truly was for peace in Ireland they would exercise the same level of determination to prevent loyalist, military and police violence as they show for the armed rebels of Irish Republican groups. But peace for them remains a political formula that includes military occupation, a Unionist police force, repressive legislation prohibiting basic civil rights, and a tolerance for loyalist death squads that continue to slaughter innocent people loyal to the British Crown.

There are currently over 11,000 British soldiers in Ireland and nationalist communities are still subjected to house raids, harassment, surveillance and the building of military installations.

In South Armagh County where there are 4 Army/RUC barracks with the busiest helicopter base in Europe, construction continues on 19 huge spy towers with on average over 500 military helicopter flights a month.

One Armagh farmer says of the military escalation, "I am terrified coming across the border (between Armagh and the Irish Republic) now, when the IRA were active I very rarely saw British Army Patrols. If I did, they didn't have time to harass me now that's all they seem to have time for."

SPY-POST DOWN

It is obvious that Sinn

Fein is committed to a non-violent resolution to the violence brought upon the Irish people by British military and police and paramilitary death squads. This is reflected in the IRA's strict adherence to its ceasefire despite the escalation of military activity, harassment and beating of Irish Catholics, attempted recruitment by military and police of nationalist informers and increasing murders of innocents by loyalists in the 6 counties of Northern Ireland. But if the British and loyalist-allied unionist can succeed in goading the IRA to resume its military activities, their forces would be further justified by the media in the international community for their repressive and violent tactics now polarized by the lack of IRA activity. Such is the goal of those who see justice and democracy as a threat.

President Gerry Adams sums it up best when he says, "The steady return to sectarian killings by all loyalist groups, coupled with the continued and increased militarization of nationalist areas, means that the only group in ceasefire mode is the IRA."

Northern Ireland's major loyalist paramilitary organizations are the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Defense Association (UDA) and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), each affiliated with a party represented at the peace talks. The UVF with the Progressive Unionist Party (PPP), the UDA with the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) and the UFF as an affiliate of the UDA. Most of these maintain ties with the racist and fascist British groups, Combat 18 and the National Front as evidenced by white supremacist tattoos on many imprisoned members. Together these paramilitaries claim to be under a 1996 ceasefire in their indiscriminate murder campaign against Irish Catholics.

In contempt of a supposed ceasefire, in the last 18 months loyalist have continued their campaign of intimidation, beatings, bombings and killings. Over a dozen murders by loyalist paramilitaries have occurred without the condemnation and accusations of terrorism that regularly attend IRA actions against British military and RUC targets.

ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Such a media strategy allows the world to see Northern Ireland's violence as mostly committed by the nationalist population when in reality it is the British military and police and loyalist death squads who repeatedly target Irish Catholics often unaffiliated with politics let alone IRA activity.



Four Protestant guerrillas in the Maze Prison in Belfast outside the prison's H Block.

In Summer 1996, Michael McColdrick a taxi driver was murdered following loyalist marches through nationalist neighborhoods. In March 1997 John Slane was shot 5 times by a loyalist assassin in front of his son. In April, a loyalist gang of 30 fatally beat 25yr old Robert Hamill while the RUC watched and failed to intervene. In May, Sean Brown, the head of a sports association was murdered in a loyalist attack. The next week William Harbinson was beaten to death by loyalists. In July, 18yr old Bernadette Martin was shot in the head 4 times by a loyalist assassin while she slept in her Protestant boyfriend's home. Eight days later the badly mutilated body of 15yr old James Morgan was discovered in a dump after being tortured and murdered by loyalists.

In December, Gerry Devlin a young father that was rebuilding sports fields and clubhouses for both Catholics and Protestants was shot in the head by a lone loyalist gunman. Behind these murders are UVF and UDA members operating under the name of the loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) which was formed by the mid-Ulster brigade of the UVF who are responsible for over 40 murders since 1989.

Known for its drive-by shootings, the LVF was led by neo-Nazi of Gerard Billy Wright who left the UVF following its announced ceasefire, funding LVF actions through drug dealing operations.

In a 1992 Associated Press interview Wright admitted to planning the murders of more than a dozen Catholics including 2 Sinn Fein members, an advocate of random murder against Catholics, some of his victims according to police unable to convict him were Kathleen O'Hagan, a pregnant woman, 19yr old Eileen Duffy, 10yr old Katrina Rennie, 29yr old Brian Fitzell and senior citizens Charles and Theresa Fox who were shot in their home in 1992.

Wright was also behind the murder of Patrick Fields and his 20yr old son Diarmuid who were shot in their family store in 1993. Diarmuid's heartbroken girlfriend Julie Statham soon after committed suicide. Wright was also responsible for the "accidental" killing of Protestant John Lavery who was murdered with 2 Catholic workmates, Dessie Rodgers and Fergus Magee at a phony police check point while returning from their factory jobs. Wright also was present for the killings of Thomas Armstrong, John Quinn, Malcolm Nugent and 17yr old Dwayne O'Donnell who were shot in a pub and the murder of Sam Marshall in 1991.